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## HOMERIC QUOTATIONS IN PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

BY GEORGE EDWIN HOWES.

### INTRODUCTORY.

AS it has not seemed wise to enter in this paper into the question of the authenticity of the various works ascribed to Plato and Aristotle, I have here included all the quotations from Homer that are contained in any of the works edited under the name of Plato or Aristotle. For the text and variants of Plato I have relied, wherever possible, upon the collations given by Schanz (*Platonis Opera quae Feruntur Omnia*, 1875-). Unfortunately for classical scholars the edition of Schanz is still incomplete; the readings, therefore, of the following works only are taken from his text:—*Alcibiades I.*, *Alcibiades II.*, *Amatores*, *Apologia Socratis*, *Charmides*, *Convivium*, *Cratylus*, *Crito*, *Gorgias*, *Hippias Minor*, *Ion*, *Laches*, *Leges I.-VI.*, *Lysis*, *Meno*, *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Protagoras*, *Sophistes*, *Theaetetus*. From the edition of Stallbaum (*Platonis Opera Omnia*) have been taken the text and variants of the following:—*Leges VII.-XII.* (1859), *Minos* (1841), *Philebus* (1842), *Respublica* (1858). From Hermann's edition (*Platonis Dialogi*, 1853) are quoted the passages in *Axiochus* and the *Epistulae*. In giving passages from Aristotle, greater uniformity has been possible by adopting for the complete works the text and collations of Bekker (*Aristotelis Opera*, 1831), and for the fragments the text of Rose (*Aristotelis qui Ferebantur Librorum Fragmenta*, 1870), both edited by the Berlin Academy. The principal other authors of whom critical use has been made have been quoted from the following editions:—Homer, from La Roche (*Homeri Ilias*, 1873-1876, and *Homeri Odyssea*; 1867-1868); Hesiod, from Rzach (*Hesiodi quae*

Feruntur Omnia, 1884); Aeschylus, from Wecklein (*Aeschyli Fabulae*, 1885); Sophocles, from Jebb (*Antigone*, 1891; *Electra*, 1894; and *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1893) and from Campbell (*Sophocles, The Plays and Fragments*, 1881; from this the *Ajax* is cited); and Euripides, from Kirchhoff (*Euripidis Fabulae*, 1867-1868). The editions of the Homeric Scholia used are those of Dindorf (*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, 1855; and *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, 1875-1877, containing the Scholia of Venetus A and of Venetus B) and of Maas (*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem Townleyana*, 1887-1888). Any departure from the text of the editions mentioned above has been indicated by a note.

I have thought that a study of the quotations from Homer found in our manuscripts of Plato and Aristotle might have a two-fold value, — it might show whether these authors quoted accurately or not, and it might possibly shed some light upon the Homeric text of their day. It is evident at once that many difficulties beset our path. The mistakes of the scribes of the manuscripts of both Homer and of the authors quoting him have, of course, been numerous; and yet, if we assume that all the differences of reading between the passages quoted and the quotations are due to the mistakes of these scribes, we beg the question at the outset, and admit that these authors quoted from the same Homeric text that we have to-day, and quoted accurately. Moreover, if we claim that all the variations, apart from those caused by the carelessness of scribes, are due to the practice of the ancients of quoting from memory, we again beg the question by assuming that none of the variants in the quotations has a real variant Homeric reading to depend upon. Besides, even if it should be granted that these authors may have quoted from memory, — an induction that does not necessarily follow because of a great difference between a passage quoted and the quotation, — this explanation would need to be used judiciously and not applied to every apparent case, for many passages that would seem at first sight to offer this as the most plausible explanation will on careful study be explained in a much more satisfactory manner. But let me not anticipate too much. I wish, merely in a general way, to indicate some of the difficulties that confront us. It would be beyond the limit of this paper and of my ability to

attempt to offer all the possible solutions of all the difficult questions that present themselves. It is my intention, while least of all wishing to dogmatize, to give what seems to me to be the most probable explanation of the various passages under discussion.

# I. QUOTATIONS FROM THE DRAMATIC POETS AND HESIOD.

I have deemed it advisable to consider, somewhat briefly, the quotations of Plato and Aristotle from the dramatic poets and Hesiod, so that an impression, more or less distinct, may be formed of their general trustworthiness when quoting from other authors. In discussing the quotations from the dramatists I shall consider those passages only that are found in the extant plays; for the fragments, except in special instances, necessarily fail to offer a satisfactory basis of comparison.

## *Quotations from the Dramatists.*

*A.* So far as I know, Plato gives but two quotations from the dramatists, apart from several references in which there is no attempt to quote the exact language.

### 1. *Rep.* 2, 362 A = Aesch. *Sept.* 580-581 :

Plat. οὐ δοκεῖν ἄδικον ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐθέλειν,  
βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενον,  
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα,

Aesch. βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,  
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα.

Plato has changed the nominative καρπούμενος to the accusative, that it may fit the structure of his sentence.

### 2. *Alcibiad.* II. 151 B = Eur. *Phoen.* 858-859 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> οἰωνὸν ἐθέμην, φησί, καλλίνικα στέφη·  
ἐν γὰρ κλύδωνι κείμεθ', ὥσπερ οἶσθα σύ·

Eur. οἰωνὸν ἐθέμην καλλίνικα σὰ στέφη·  
ἐν γὰρ κλύδωνι κείμεθ', ὥσπερ οἶσθα σύ,

<sup>1</sup> Schanz, following Buttman, restores σὰ. Cod. B, κείμεθα; T, διακείμεθα.

As *σά* of the verse of Euripides is necessary for the trimeter, its loss from the manuscripts of Plato is probably due to a copyist, as we cannot suppose that Plato would have allowed such an unmetrical verse to stand in his text.

*B.* Aristotle has given us twenty-four quotations from the dramatists. In seven<sup>1</sup> of these the manuscripts of Aristotle coincide with those of the poets, with the exception of a few unimportant variants evidently due to the carelessness of scribes.

The other seventeen will require some discussion.

1. *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 b 20) = *Soph. Antig.* 223 :

Aristot. ἀναξ, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως σπουδῆς ὕπο.

Soph. ἀναξ, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως τάχους ὕπο

The reading *σπουδῆς* receives additional support from the scholiast who writes: οὐ τοῦτο λέγω, ὅτι μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀσθμαίνων πρὸς σὲ πεπόμεναι. The coincidence of the use of *σπουδῆς* by both Aristotle and the scholiast may, of course, be accidental; but it is at least striking and entitles the reading to a fair consideration. Even if Aristotle is quoting from memory here, as many suppose, the reading is not thereby invalidated. A man may quote from memory and still quote correctly. We might add that some of the editors—*e.g.* Dindorf and Schneidewin—have adopted *σπουδῆς* in their text.

2 (and 3). *Eth. Nic.* 9, 9 (p. 1169 b 7) and *Mag. Mor.* 2, 15 (p. 1212 b 27) = *Eur. Or.* 667 :

Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* ὅταν ὁ δαίμων εἶ διδῶ, τί δ' εἰ φίλων;

Aristot. *Mag. Mor.* ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εἶ διδῶ, τί δ' εἰ φίλων;

*Eur.*<sup>2</sup> ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εἶ διδῶ, τί χρὴ φίλων;

The second quotation of Aristotle assures us—what we should otherwise readily have assumed—that the omission of *δ'* in the first quotation is merely a copyist's blunder. Besides, it confirms the

<sup>1</sup> *De Mundo* 6 (p. 400 b 25) = *Soph. O. T.* 4-5; *Rhet.* 3, 15 (p. 1416 a 30) = *Eur. Hip.* 612; *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1394 a 29) = *Eur. Med.* 294-297; *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 16) = *Eur. Or.* 234; *Rhet.* 3, 2 (p. 1405 b 23) = *Eur. Or.* 1588; *Rhet.* 3, 17 (p. 1418 b 22) = *Eur. Troad.* 971; *Rhet.* 2, 23 (p. 1400 b 23) = *Eur. Troad.* 990.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. B has δ'εἰ, which Kirchhoff edits.

reading  $\delta\epsilon\iota$ , at least for Aristotle. Without going deeply into the question we may say that it is very doubtful whether the Attic poets ever used  $\chi\rho\eta$  with a genitive. Besides, in Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1338 we have a similar verse — whether spurious or not:

$\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota \delta' \sigma\tau\alpha\nu \tau\iota\mu\omega\sigma\iota\nu, \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\epsilon\iota \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu.$

If genuine, this verse shows a similar phase; if spurious, it was probably modelled after Eur. *Or.* 667. Again, the reading  $\tau\acute{\iota} \delta\epsilon\iota \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$  is confirmed by Plutarch.<sup>1</sup> Further, as already noted, the word  $\delta\epsilon\iota$  itself still appears in one manuscript of Euripides. So we should agree with Kirchhoff, Nauck, Paley and others in admitting  $\delta\epsilon\iota$  into the text of Euripides.

4. *Rhet.* 3, 6 (p. 1407 b 34) = Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 727:

Aristot.<sup>2</sup>  $\Delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\omicron\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\omicron\nu\iota \delta\iota\alpha\pi\tau\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}.$

Eur.<sup>3</sup>  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\omicron\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\eta\nu\omicron\iota \delta\iota\alpha\pi\tau\chi\alpha\acute{\iota},$

The word  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\eta\nu\omicron\iota$ , 'much wailing,' was long ago seen to be wrong. We are indebted to Aristotle for the true reading. The folds of the tablet were 'many-gated,' *i.e.* there were many leaves that might be considered to form the entrance to the tablet. Although Euripides has used an uncommon expression, it receives some justification in the  $\delta\acute{\iota}\theta\rho\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  of Pollux, IV. 18:  $\text{Ἡρόδοτος μὲν λέγει δελτίον δίπτυχον, οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ γραμματεῖον δίθρυρον, καὶ θύρας τὰς πτύχας ἄχρι δύο, εἶτα πτύχας καὶ τρίπτυχον καὶ πολύπτυχον;}$  and later in X. 57:  $\text{δέλτους δελτία, ὡς εἰπεῖν γραμματείδιον δίθρυρον ἢ τρίπτυχον ἢ καὶ πλειόνων πτυχῶν.}$  The reading of Aristotle is, therefore, welcome, and is accepted by Kirchhoff, Nauck, Klotz, Paley and modern scholars generally.

5. *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252 b 8) = Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1400:

Aristot.  $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu \delta' \text{Ἑλληνas} \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma,$

Eur.<sup>4</sup>  $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu \delta' \text{Ἑλληνas} \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\nu, \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \omicron\upsilon \beta\alpha\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\varsigma,$

<sup>1</sup> *Moral.* 68 E.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Yb,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\omicron\nu \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha \delta\acute{\epsilon}.$

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Kirchhoff,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\omicron\nu\iota.$

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Kirchhoff,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma.$

The manuscripts of Euripides offer a metrical difficulty, namely a spondee in the odd foot of a trochaic metre. Ways suggested for avoiding the difficulty have been the cutting of the verse into two parts or the substitution of the Doric form ἄρχειν. The discovery of the quotation in Aristotle, however, practically settled the matter in favor of the reading ἄρχειν εἰκός.

So far we have considered twelve passages, which show that Aristotle's quotations are entitled to great respect; seven of them are practically identical with the passages quoted, while the other five give readings superior to those found in our manuscripts of the poets themselves. The remaining twelve passages offer greater difficulties.

1. *Rhet.* I, 13 (p. 1373 b 12) = *Soph. Antig.* 456-457:

Aristot.<sup>1</sup> οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε καχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε  
ζῆ τοῦτο, κοῦδεῖς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη.

Soph. οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε καχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε  
ζῆ ταῦτα, κοῦδεῖς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη.

Verse 456 is quoted by Aristotle again in *Rhet.*<sup>2</sup> I, 15 (p. 1375 b 1):

οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε καχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε.

In the two quotations of verse 456 the variants in the manuscripts of Aristotle contradict one another and thus corroborate the readings of the manuscripts of Sophocles. Possibly the word τοῦτο was purposely written by Aristotle, that it might harmonize with his preceding words: οἶον καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνη φαίνεται λέγουσα, ὅτι δίκαιον ἀπειρημένον θάψαι τὸν Πολυνείκη, ὡς φύσει δὲν τοῦτο δίκαιον. Otherwise its use must be due to the carelessness either of Aristotle or of the scribes.

2. *Rhet.* I, 15 (p. 1375 b 1) = *Soph. Antig.* 456 and 458:

Aristot.<sup>3</sup> οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε καχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε.  
ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός.

Soph.<sup>4</sup> οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε καχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε  
τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός

<sup>1</sup> Cod. QY<sup>b</sup>, τε (for γε); Z<sup>b</sup>, σε (for γε); Q, καὶ χθές.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. A<sup>c</sup>, τὸν (for τι).

<sup>3</sup> Cod. A<sup>c</sup>, τὸν (for τι); A<sup>c</sup>, ἤμελλον.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. L, ἐγ' οὐκ.

Evidently this passage was so well known to his hearers or readers that Aristotle thought it unnecessary to quote it in full. It is quite possible that he may have used the word *τούτων*, which is undoubtedly right in the verse of Sophocles. A copyist might readily have changed this to *ταῦτ' οὖν* either carelessly, or because he thought that *ἔμειλλον* would most naturally be followed by an infinitive, of which *ταῦτα* would be the object.

3. *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 a 20) = *Soph. O. T.* 774:

Aristot. *ἐμοὶ πατήρ ἦν Πόλυβος.*

Soph. *ἐμοὶ πατήρ μὲν Πολύβος ἦν Κορίνθιος,*

Little stress can be laid upon this passage, for Aristotle is rather referring to the verse than quoting it.

4. *Rhet.* 3, 11 (p. 1411 b 29) = *Eur. Iph. Aul.* 80:

Aristot.<sup>1</sup> *τοῦλεύθερον δ' Ἕλληνες ἄξαντες ποσίν*

Eur. *τοῦντεῦθεν οὖν Ἕλληνες ἄξαντες δορί,*

This passage of Aristotle is clearly corrupt in the manuscripts. Possibly the word *ποσίν* is involved in the corruption; it is surely more prosaic than *δορί*, and is probably wrong.

5. *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 22) = *Eur. Phoen.* 539-540:

Aristot.<sup>2</sup> *τῷ πλέονι δ' αἰεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται*

*τοῦλασσον, ἔχθρας θ' ἡμέρα κατάρχεται.*

Eur.<sup>3</sup> *τῷ πλέονι δ' αἰὲ πολέμιον καθίσταται*

*τοῦλασσον ἐχθρᾶς θ' ἡμέρας κατάρχεται.*

Except for the accent of *ἐχθρᾶς* one manuscript of Aristotle gives the same reading as the manuscripts of Euripides, and may preserve the correct tradition. The meaning of the last verse of Euripides, "and begins the hostile day," is somewhat obscure, however. The reading of the manuscripts of Aristotle, "and the day begins hostility," is about as intelligible and may possibly be right.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. A<sup>c</sup>, *τοῦλεύθερον ἔλληνες*; Y<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>b</sup>, *τοῦλεύθερον δ' ἔλληνες*; Q, *τὸ ἐλευθέρους δ' ἔλληνες*. Bekker has edited *τοῦντεῦθεν οὖν Ἕλληνες*.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. P<sup>b</sup>, *ἡμέρας*.

<sup>3</sup> Some cod., *αἰεὶ*; C, *πλείονι*.



6. *Rhet.* 3, 17 (p. 1418b 21) = Eur. *Troad.* 969:

Aristot.<sup>1</sup> τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτα σύμμαχος γενήσομαι.

Eur.<sup>2</sup> ταῖς θεαῖσι πρῶτα σύμμαχος γενήσομαι

The article τοῖς is a purely grammatical blunder and cannot be attributed to Aristotle. That he had a feminine gender in mind is evident from his next words (also a quotation), ἐγὼ γὰρ Ἦραν. He may have used ταῖς θεοῖς, which a scribe might think was a mistake for τοῖς θεοῖς. If he wrote ταῖς θεαῖσι, which the manuscripts of Euripides show, it might have been changed by a scribe, first to the common Attic τοῖς θεαῖς, and later to τοῖς θεοῖς.

7. *Rhet.* 3, 16 (p. 1417a 32) = Soph. *Antig.* 911-912:

Aristot.<sup>3</sup> μητρὸς δ' ἐν ἄδου καὶ πατρὸς βεβηκότων  
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάβστοι ποτέ.

Soph. μητρὸς δ' ἐν Ἀιδου καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότοιιν  
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάβστοι ποτέ.

The reading βεβηκότων may be due to the carelessness of Aristotle or it may have crept in as a gloss of some learned man, who beside the κεκευθότοιιν of his text wrote the corresponding expression βεβηκότοιιν.

8 (and 9). *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1394b 16) and *Eth. Eud.* 7, 2 (p. 1235b 21) = Eur. *Troad.* 1051:

Aristot. (*Rhet.*)<sup>4</sup> οὐδεὶς ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ αἰεὶ φιλεῖ,

Aristot. (*Eth. Eud.*) οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ αἰεὶ φιλεῖ,

Eur. οὐκ ἔστ' ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ αἰεὶ φιλεῖ.

In the passage of the Eudemian Ethics the word γὰρ has been introduced to join the statement more closely with the preceding words.

10. *Pol.* 1, 13 (p. 1260a 30) = Soph. *Ajax* 293:

Aristot. γυναικὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴν φέρει,

Soph. γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴν φέρει.

<sup>1</sup> The verse is given thus in all the manuscripts. Bekker, however, edits ταῖς θεαῖσι.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. BCG, θεαῖσι; B, ταῖς θεαῖσι.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Q, ἂν βλαστῇ; ZbAc, ἀναβλάστοι.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Ac, ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ αἰεὶ φιλεῖ.

11. *Metaphys.* 4, 5 (p. 1015 a 31) = *Soph. Elec.* 256 :

Aristot. ἀλλ' ἡ βία με ταῦτ' ἀναγκάζει ποιεῖν.

*Soph.* ἀλλ' ἡ βία γὰρ ταῦτ' ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν,

12. *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1394 b 4 and 6) = *Eur. Hec.* 864–865 :

Aristot. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρῶν ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος

ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἢ τύχης.

*Eur.* οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος·

ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἢ τύχης,

Most of these last quotations of Aristotle, though differing from the manuscripts of the dramatists, contain—if we except palpable blunders evidently due to copyists—readings that are intelligible and quite possible. Some of them probably represent correct old readings; for it would be singular if, where variants are found between the manuscripts of Aristotle and of these authors, he is right only when grammatical or metrical difficulties prove the traditional readings of these authors corrupt.

### *Quotations from Hesiod.*

After this rather brief reference to the passages of the dramatic poets quoted by Plato and Aristotle, we may perhaps with profit glance at the passages quoted from Hesiod.

A. At first sight Plato's quotations from Hesiod seem to show great carelessness, as almost all of them give readings different from those contained in the manuscripts of Hesiod. Each of these passages, however, will need to be considered separately.

1. *Conviv.* 178 B = *Theog.* 116–120 :

Plat.

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεῖ,

ἦδ' Ἔρος.

Hes.

Ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτιστα Χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεῖ

[ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,]

Τάρταρά τ' ἡερόεντα μυχῶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,

ἦδ' Ἔρος,

In the words actually quoted the manuscripts of Plato agree with those of Hesiod. The omission of verses 118 and 119 will be discussed later.

2. *Theaetet.* 207 A = *Op. et D.* 456 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> ἑκατὸν δέ τε δούραθ' ἀμάξης.

Hes.<sup>2</sup> ἑκατὸν δέ τε δούρατ' ἀμάξης,

The difference here is mainly one of breathing, and therefore of little account, as manuscript traditions on such matters have small weight. We might say, however, that the best manuscript of Plato has δούρατ', which, if correct, would imply ἀμάξης — with smooth breathing — and thus cause a correspondence between the best manuscripts of the two authors.

3. *Rep.* 5, 466 C = *Op. et D.* 40 :

Plat. γνώσεται τὸν Ἡσίοδον ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ἦν σοφὸς λέγων  
πλέον εἰναί πως ἥμισυ παντός.

Hes.<sup>3</sup> Νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν, ὅσῳ πλέον ἥμισυ παντός

Here it is evidently the purpose of Plato not to quote, but merely to refer to the passage of Hesiod. The two words ἥμισυ παντός are common to both passages, and there is nothing in the rest of the reference in Plato inconsistent with the manuscript readings of Hesiod. In similar language Plato again refers to the same passage in *Leg.* 3, 690 E.

4. *Lysis* 215 C = *Op. et D.* 25-26 :

Plat. καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ  
καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ,

Hes. Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,  
καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

These verses were variously quoted in antiquity. In one place — *Pol.* 5, 10 (p. 1312 b 5) — Aristotle gives the order κεραμεῖ κεραμεύς, though there it is rather a reference than a quotation. In three other instances,<sup>4</sup> however, he shows the traditional manuscript order,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. B, δούρατ'. <sup>2</sup> Cod. Mm<sub>1</sub>, ἀμάξη or ἀμ; Mm<sub>2</sub>, ἀμάξης; most cod., δούραθ' ἀμάξης.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. MZBAV, οὐδ' ἴσ.

<sup>4</sup> *Rhet.* 2, 4 (p. 1381 b 16); *Rhet.* 2, 10 (p. 1388 a 16); *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 18).

which is confirmed by many other writers also. In Priscian<sup>1</sup> we find verse 26 quoted thus :

καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων.

This, in an indirect way, tends to corroborate the reading of Plato. For the last part of the verse as quoted by Priscian refers to the class of men (τέκτονες) which Plato would naturally have mentioned if he had finished his verse, since it is the only class referred to by Hesiod but omitted by Plato. Apparently, even in the remote past there were differences of reading, which may easily have arisen before the time of Plato, and even have crept into manuscript copies of Hesiod.

5 (and 6). *Crat.* 397 E and *Rep.* 5, 469 A = *Op. et D.* 121-123 :

Plat. (*Crat.*) αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψεν,  
οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοὶ ὑποχθόνιοι καλέονται,  
ἔσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Plat. (*Rep.*) οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι τελέθουσιν,  
ἔσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

Hes.<sup>2</sup> αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,  
τοῖ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς  
ἔσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

This is a difficult passage to settle satisfactorily. Plato differs not only from Hesiod but also from himself. Let us consider first those readings in which he consistently differs from Hesiod.

(a) οἱ μὲν. That this reading was found in the manuscripts of Plato in early times is seen from Eusebius,<sup>3</sup> Hermogenes,<sup>4</sup> and others, who quote it thus from Plato. Lactantius,<sup>5</sup> though with a variant τοῖ, quotes it thus from Hesiod. It may very well have stood in the manuscript of Hesiod to which Plato had access.

<sup>1</sup> XVIII. 145, p. 169 K.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. A has ἐπεὶ κε, with δὴ written above; cod. MC, ἐπεὶ μὲν, with κε written above; almost all the other cod. have ἐπεὶ κεν.

<sup>3</sup> *Praep. Ev.* 13, 11, p. 663 A.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Walz., *Rhet. Graec.* 3, p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> *Inst. Div.* 2, 14, 7.

(b) ἀγνοῖ. This word, too, is confirmed for Plato by Eusebius, Hermogenes, and Theodoretus.<sup>1</sup> It is suggested for Hesiod also by Plutarch,<sup>2</sup> who in wrongly quoting the verse as

ἀγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

shows that the word ἀγνοῖ was somewhere in the sentence.

(c) ἀλεξίκακοι. The testimony of Eusebius, Hermogenes, Theodoretus, and Aristides<sup>3</sup> shows that this is correct for Plato. Though Theodoretus is referring to the Cratylus of Plato, he thinks he is giving the words of Hesiod, for he prefaces his quotation with these words: ὁ δέ γε Ἡσίοδος περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους ταῦτα ἔφη.

Now let us look at those words that show Plato as differing from Hesiod and inconsistent with himself.

(d) ἐπιχθόνιοι (*Rep.*); ὑποχθόνιοι (*Crat.*). As Aristides alone, who seems to be quoting from the Cratylus, reads ὑποχθόνιοι, while the other authors, including Theodoretus, who quotes from the Cratylus, give ἐπιχθόνιοι, probably Plato wrote in both passages ἐπιχθόνιοι, which was early corrupted in the Cratylus to ὑποχθόνιοι.

(e) τελέθουσιν (*Rep.*); καλέονται (*Crat.*). The authors quoting Plato are about evenly divided on these words. Probably these readings represent very old variants which may have extended back to old manuscripts of Hesiod.

In the case of one word, Plato agrees with Hesiod in one passage but disagrees in the other:

(f) μερόπων (*Rep.*); θνητῶν (*Crat.*, and also Hesiod). For the former word Eusebius offers his testimony, while the latter is confirmed by many ancient authors. As the phrase μερόπων ἀνθρώπων was a common ending for verses of both Homer and Hesiod,<sup>4</sup> it would have been easy for either Plato or a scribe to write μερόπων ἀνθρώπων instead of θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

In the Cratylus, Plato quotes one more verse than in the Republic. In this verse he differs from Hesiod in one phrase:

<sup>1</sup> 8, *De Mar.* p. 915 D.      <sup>2</sup> *Moral.* 431 E.      <sup>3</sup> Vol. II. p. 171 (230 Dind.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* 1, 250; 3, 402; Hes. *Op. et D.* 143, 180. Cf. also Plat. *Leg.* 3, 681 E, where he quotes from Hom. *Il.* 20, 217, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

(g) μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψε (*Crat.*); γαῖα κάλυψε (*Hes.*). Theodoretus confirms μοῖρ' for Plato, and evidently thought it correct for Hesiod. The phrase γαῖα κάλυψε recurs in verses 140 and 156 of the *Works and Days*. So it seems to me probable that Plato, if in verse 121 his text of Hesiod had read γαῖα κάλυψε, would have quoted it so, even if he were giving the words from memory, as the repetition of the phrase would have impressed it upon his mind. Why is it not fully as natural, therefore, to suppose that the original reading of verse 121 of Hesiod was really μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψε, which was early changed by a scribe to γαῖα κάλυψε because of the repetition of that phrase in verses 140 and 156? Taking all these points into consideration, I am inclined to believe that the text of Hesiod from which Plato quoted may have been :

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψε  
καλέονται  
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι τελέθουσιν  
ἔσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

7. *Rep.* 2, 364 C = *Or. et D.* 287-289 :

Plat. ὥς τὴν μὲν κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι  
ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει·  
τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρειθεν ἔθηκαν

Hes. τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι  
ῥηιδίως· ὀλίγη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.  
τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρειθεν ἔθηκαν

The word ὥς given by the manuscripts of Plato is nowhere confirmed for this passage of Hesiod and undoubtedly merely connects the quotation with the preceding words of Plato: τοῦτοις δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς λόγοις μάρτυρας ποιητὰς ἐπάγονται, οἱ μὲν κακίας περὶ εὐπετείας διδόντες, ὥς, etc. Some scribe, however, supposing it the first word of the quotation, and finding that there were too many syllables in the verse, may naturally enough have retained ὥς and omitted τοι.

In the variants λείη and ὀλίγη we certainly have testimony strong enough to prove absolutely that there were old readings of Hesiod that are not found at all in our manuscripts of that author. For, although all the manuscripts of Hesiod here read ὀλίγη, the

reading *λείη* is confirmed (1) by Plato,<sup>1</sup> who, in referring to this passage of Hesiod, again uses the word *λείη*; (2) by Xenophon,<sup>2</sup> who in turn is confirmed by Stobaeus<sup>3</sup>; and (3) by Plutarch.<sup>4</sup>

8. *Leg.* 4, 718 E = *Op. et D.* 289-292 :

Plat.<sup>5</sup> ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτήν,  
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,  
ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

Hes.<sup>6</sup> τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτήν  
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,  
ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

(a) The reading *ἵκηται* is confirmed by one manuscript of Xenophon,<sup>7</sup> from whom Stobaeus<sup>8</sup> also quotes the same reading, and by one manuscript of Hesiod, while *ἵκηται* is substantiated by Stobaeus<sup>9</sup> in another passage. The fact that Plato in the *Protagoras*<sup>10</sup> uses *ἵκηται* is of no importance, for there he is merely referring to this passage of Hesiod and not quoting it; and, besides, he there adds *τις* to show that the statement is a general one, thus giving the same force to the sentence as if he had said *ἵκηται*. I am inclined to think, therefore, especially as the form *ἵκηται* offers difficulty in the way of interpretation, that *ἵκηται* is the correct reading for Hesiod.

(b) The variation of *δὴ ἔπειτα* and *δὴ ἔπειτα* needs no discussion, as it is a point to be determined by the judgment of the editor rather than by a particular manuscript tradition.

(c) The word *φέρειν* of the manuscripts of Plato is a mere blunder of somebody. For in referring to the passage again, Plato<sup>11</sup> says: *ὅταν δέ τις αὐτῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται, ῥηιδίην δὴ πείτα πέλειν*. . .

<sup>1</sup> *Leg.* 4, 718 E.

<sup>2</sup> *Mem.* 2, 1, 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Floril.* 1, 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Moral.* p. 77 D.

<sup>5</sup> The cod. have *φέρειν* (for *πέλει*).

<sup>6</sup> Some cod. *ἐπ' αὐτήν*; Vat. 121, *ἵκηται*; Mm<sup>1</sup>, δὲ *ἔπειτα*; m<sup>2</sup>, *δήπειτα*.

<sup>7</sup> *Mem.* 2, 1, 20. Cod. A, *ἵκηται*; the rest, *ἵκηται*.

<sup>8</sup> *Floril.* 1, 101.

<sup>9</sup> *Floril.* 1, 17.

<sup>10</sup> 340 D.

<sup>11</sup> *Protag.* 340 D.

9. *Crat.* 428 A = *Op. et D.* 361:

Plat.<sup>1</sup> εἰ καὶ τις σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθείη,

Hes. Εἰ γάρ κεν καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθεῖο,

The difference of these two readings is not easy to explain, unless we assume that Plato preferred to use another form for a general statement. Still, both readings are metrical and possible, though a syllable is lacking in the verse in Plato.

10. *Rep.* 2, 363 B = *Op. et D.* 233-234:

Plat. ὁ μὲν τὰς δρῦς τοῖς δικαίοις τοὺς θεοὺς ποιεῖν

ἄκρας μὲν τε φέρειν βαλάνους, μέσσας δὲ μελίσσας·

εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄιες, φησί, μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασι,

Hes. ἄκρη μὲν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας·

εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄιες μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασι·

Plato here adapts the verses of Hesiod to the structure of his sentence. There is nothing, however, inconsistent with the words of Hesiod.

11. *Charm.* 163 B = *Op. et D.* 311:

Plat.<sup>2</sup> ἔμαθον γὰρ παρ' Ἑσιόδου, ὃς ἔφη,

ἔργον οὐδὲν εἶναι ὄνειδος.

Hes. Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.

Here, too, the words are woven into the structure of Plato's sentence.

There is another passage of Plato that, although it does not quote from Hesiod, makes such a reference to him as to entitle it to our consideration:

12. *Crat.* 402 B:

ἀρα οἷε ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις ῥευμάτων ὀνόματα θέσθαι, ὥσπερ αὖ Ὅμηρος<sup>3</sup> Ὀκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν φησιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἑσιόδος. λέγει δέ που καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὅτι κτλ.

The point of the passage for us lies in the words οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἑσιόδος. Jowett,<sup>4</sup> who evidently thinks that Plato means that

<sup>1</sup> Cod. B, σμικροῦ (for σμικρῷ).

<sup>2</sup> Codices, δ' οὐδὲν.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 14, 201.

<sup>4</sup> In a note to his translation of this passage of Plato.



Hesiod had a very similar verse telling of 'Ocean, the origin of gods, and mother Tethys,' says: "The verse is not found in the extant works of Hesiod." It seems to me, however, that Plato may have meant that Hesiod, too, describes Oceanus and Tethys as parents of (some) gods. I should agree with Hermann, therefore, in considering that Plato had in mind *Theog.* 337 :

Τηθὺς δ' Ὀκεανῷ Ποταμοῦς τέκε δινήμεντας,

The words οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος surely offer considerable evidence in favor of the view that Plato quoted from memory. The natural interpretation would be: "I think Hesiod has such a verse, but I can't recall it." Still, the words might imply merely: "I think Hesiod has such a verse somewhere, but I don't know just where to look for it." And we must bear in mind that looking for passages whose place was not tolerably well known, was a much more arduous process with the old rolls than with modern books.

*Conviv.* 178 B = *Theog.* 116-120. This passage was quoted a few pages above.<sup>1</sup> Plato is referring here to the antiquity of the god Ἐρως. It would not be surprising, therefore, if he omitted everything in the passage quoted that was extraneous to his purpose. But, since we find that Aristotle in quoting the same passage twice omits these same verses (118 and 119), we are led to believe that these verses may not have existed in their texts of Hesiod, especially as they are, for other reasons, suspected by many scholars.

A consideration of all of these passages leads me to think that Plato had a text of Hesiod different in many respects from ours; and that his variants must not thoughtlessly be dismissed as due to 'lapse of memory.'

B. After this somewhat cursory treatment of Plato's quotations of Hesiod, let us turn to Aristotle's quotations of the same author. Three<sup>2</sup> of these, apart from very slight differences evidently due to scribes, give the traditional readings of Hesiod. The others I shall treat separately.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 161.

<sup>2</sup> *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252b 11) and *Oec.* 1, 2 (p. 1343a 21) = *Op. et D.* 405; *Probl.* 4, 25 (p. 879a 28) = *Op. et D.* 586.

4 (and 5). *Eth. Nic.* 9, 1 (p. 1164 a 27) and *Eth. Eud.* 7, 10 (p. 1242 b 34) = *Op. et D.* 370:

Aristot. (*Eth. Nic.*) ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δ' ἐνίοις ἀρέσκει τὸ  
μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρί.

Aristot. (*Eth. Eud.*) μισθὸς ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ.

Hes.<sup>1</sup> Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένους, ἄρκιος ἔστω.

In the Eudemean Ethics the loss of δ' makes the fragment unmetrical. The particle must have been omitted by a scribe. A knowledge of the real reading is shown in the passage of the Nicomachean Ethics.

6. *Eth. Nic.* 1, 2 (p. 1095 b 10) = *Op. et D.* 293-297:

Aristot.<sup>2</sup> οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ,  
ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακείνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθῃται.  
ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων  
ἐν θυμῷ βάλλῃται, ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνὴρ.

Hes.<sup>3</sup> Οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ,  
φρασσάμενος, τά κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ᾗσιν ἀμείνω·  
ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακείνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθῃται·  
ὃς δέ κε μήθ' αὐτῷ νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων  
ἐν θυμῷ βάλλῃται, ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνὴρ.

The main difference in these passages is that the manuscripts of Aristotle give generally αὐτὸς (verses 293 and 296) while those of Hesiod have αὐτῷ. It seems clear that Tzetzes had in his manuscript of Hesiod αὐτὸς in both places, for he says (on verse 293): πανάριστος ἐστὶ, ὃς τις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτως τὸ πρέπον νοεῖ, and on verse 295: ἀγαθὸς δὲ κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον, καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν γνοὺς, πεισθεὶς δὲ τοῖς καλῶς συμβουλευουσιν. Moschopolus seems to have read the same, for he says: ἡγουν οὗτος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀριστος, ὃς

<sup>1</sup> Cod. B, γ'; in many cod. this verse is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. LbMb, αὐτῷ (verse 293); Lb, νοεῖ; Mb, νοήσει (Mb adds φρασσάμενος τά κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ᾗσιν ἀμείνω); HaKbMbNbOb (i.e. all the cod. except one), πείθῃται; LbMb, βάλλῃται; Mb, αἶ.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Mm<sub>1</sub>, Z (with the gloss ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ), L, αὐτῷ (verse 293); O, αὐτὸς; all cod., νοήσει; B, εἰσιν; ZA, εἰσίν; M, ἀμείνων; M (verse 295) omits δ'; B, μήτ' αὐτῷ (verse 296); some, μήτ' αὐτῷ; Mm<sub>2</sub>, μήτ' αὐτὸς (from αὐτὸς); many cod., νοεῖ.

δι' ἐαυτοῦ πάντα νοήσει . . . ὅς δ' ἂν μήτε δι' ἐαυτοῦ νοῇ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων κτλ.

Since there are many writers some of whom quote αὐτός and some αὐτῷ, we may fairly infer, I think, that both readings go back to a very old period. Verse 294 of Hesiod is omitted by Aristotle and also by Aristides<sup>1</sup> and by Clement of Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> It is quoted, however, by Stobaeus<sup>3</sup> and by Andronicus Rhodius.<sup>4</sup> Whether Aristotle had it in his text of Hesiod or not is uncertain, for he might readily have omitted it as unessential to his quotation, even if he had had it. Still the verse is open to suspicion and has been rejected by some scholars, *e.g.* Brunck and Steitz.

7. *Rhet.* 3, 9 (p. 1409 b 28) = *Op. et D.* 265-266 :

Aristot.<sup>5</sup> οἱ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῃ κακὰ τεύχων,  
ἢ δὲ μακρὰ ἀναβολὴ τῷ ποιήσαντι κακίστη·

Hes.<sup>6</sup> Οἱ γ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῃ κακὰ τεύχων,  
ἢ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλεύσαντι κακίστη.

These two verses do not properly belong in a collection of Aristotle's quotations, for they are a parody by Democritus, as Aristotle himself says: ὥστε γίνεται ὁ ἔσκωψε Δημόκριτος ὁ Χῖος εἰς Μελανιπίδην ποιήσαντα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀντιστροφῶν ἀναβολάς, οἱ τ' αὐτῷ κτλ.

8. *Oec.* 1, 4 (p. 1344 a 17) = *Op. et D.* 699 :

Aristot.<sup>7</sup> παρθενικὴν δὲ γαμεῖν ἵνα ἦθεα κεδνὰ διδάξης·

Hes. παρθενικὴν δὲ γαμεῖν, ὥς κ' ἦθεα κεδνὰ διδάξης.

Aristides,<sup>8</sup> in referring to this passage of Hesiod, uses ἵνα. ἵνα has far the greater probability as the original reading, because it restores hiatus: ἵνα γήθεα.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II. p. 26 (p. 31 Dind.).

<sup>2</sup> *Paed.* 3, 8 (p. 279).

<sup>3</sup> *Floril.* 4, p. 252 (ed. Meineke).

<sup>4</sup> *Eth. Nic. Paraphrasis* 1, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. QY<sup>b</sup> Z<sup>b</sup>, ἀναβολήν; Q, κακίστη γὰρ.

<sup>6</sup> The word γ' edited by Rzach has no manuscript authority. Almost all the cod. have τ' or θ'.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. Mb, διδάξη.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. II. p. 33 (p. 41 Dind.).

9. *Eth. Nic.* 9, 10 (p. 1170 b 21) = *Op. et D.* 715:

Aristot.<sup>1</sup> ἐμμελῶς εἰρησθαι δοκεῖ

μήτε πολύξεινος μήτ' ἄξεινος,

Hes. Μηδὲ πολύξεινον μηδ' ἄξεινον καλέεσθαι,

With the variants *μήτε* and *μηδὲ* we need not concern ourselves as they are often confused in manuscripts. If the manuscripts of Aristotle represent him correctly in this passage, it must be considered either as a mere reference or as a misquotation, for the words *πολύξεινον* and *ἄξεινον* must be right in Hesiod, since they are in the same construction as *νεικεστῆρα* (verse 716), which the metre demands.

10. *Eth. Nic.* 7, 14 (p. 1153 b 27) = *Op. et D.* 763-764:

Aristot.<sup>2</sup> φήμη δ' οὐ τί γε πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἦντινα λαοὶ  
πολλοί. . .

Hes. Φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἦντινα πολλοὶ  
λαοὶ φημίζουσι.

Of the variants *τί γε* and *τις* we need say only that some manuscripts of Hesiod<sup>3</sup> show *τι*, to which *γε* could easily have been added by a copyist, and one manuscript of Aristotle has *τις* without *γε*.

Demosthenes,<sup>4</sup> Aeschines<sup>5</sup> and Dio Chrysostomus<sup>6</sup> give the order of words *λαοὶ πολλοὶ*, while other writers confirm the traditional reading of Hesiod *πολλοὶ λαοὶ*. Of the five manuscripts of Aristotle collated by Bekker for this passage four read *πολλοί* alone, the other has *οἱ πολλοί*. This *οἱ*, of course, may be the remnant of a previous *λαοί*, but the weight of evidence would seem to suggest that Aristotle wrote merely *πολλοί*, thus completing the verse in accordance with our reading of Hesiod.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Lb, ἄξενος; LbOb add καλεοίμην.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Kb, οὐ τις πάμπαν; Kb has οἱ (for λαοί); the other cod. show no trace of the word.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. critical apparatus in text of Koehly-Kinkel for this passage.

<sup>4</sup> *De Fals. Leg.* p. 417.

<sup>5</sup> *Con. Timarch.* p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> *Or.* 37, p. 128 R.

11 (12, 13 and 14). *Pol.* 5, 10 (p. 1312 b 5), *Rhet.* 2, 4 (p. 1381 b 16), *Rhet.* 2, 10 (p. 1388 a 16), *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 18) = *Op. et D.* 25.

Aristot. (*Pol.*)                      ὥς κεραμεῖ κεραμεύς

Aristot. (*Rhet.* 2, 4)            κεραμεύς κεραμεῖ.

Aristot. (*Rhet.* 2, 10)           καὶ κεραμεύς κεραμεῖ.

Aristot. (*Eth. Eud.*)            καὶ γὰρ κεραμεύς κεραμεῖ κοτέει,

Hes.                                      Καὶ κεραμεύς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,

From these last four passages of Aristotle it is evident that, when he was quoting only a part of a verse, or perhaps referring to it, he did not feel it necessary to give the exact language. A comparison of these four passages shows that Aristotle had here the same reading in his Hesiod as we find in ours.

15 (16 and 17). *Phys. Auscul.* 4, 1 (p. 208 b 30), *Metaphys.* 1, 4 (p. 984 b 27), and *De Xenoph.* 1 (p. 975 a 11) = *Theog.* 116-120:

Aristot.<sup>1</sup> (*Phys. Auscul.*)

πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος,

Aristot.<sup>2</sup> (*Metaphys.*)

πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος,  
ἢδ' ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν,

Aristot.<sup>3</sup> (*De Xenoph.*)

πρῶτον μὲν πάντων φησὶ χάος ἐγένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,  
ἢδ' ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν.

Hes.                      \*Ἦτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ  
[ἀθανάτων, οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,]  
Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,  
ἢδ' \*Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι

<sup>1</sup> Cod. F, γένοιτ'.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. H<sup>a</sup>, αὐτὸ (for αὐτὰρ); E, γέα γαῖα; H<sup>a</sup> A<sup>b</sup>, ἔρως.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. B<sup>a</sup> R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>, αἰείδερος.

(a) In the first two passages, in which Aristotle is apparently intending to quote exactly, we read πάντων, and in the third, where the inversion of words and the metrical difficulties in the first line indicate that — if our text is correct — the quotation really begins with ἀντάρ, we still find πάντων. It seems to me the natural inference is that Aristotle had πάντων in his text of Hesiod.

(b) The omission in the Metaphysics of verses 118 and 119 is of no great importance, for there Aristotle quotes only what is necessary to prove his point, namely that Hesiod made Ἔρως a 'first cause.' But still, as the general subject of this passage is the 'first causes,' the omission of Τάρταρα from this list would seem to indicate that, even if Aristotle had verse 119 in his text of Hesiod, he did not interpret Τάρταρα as one of the 'first causes.' In De Xenophane, where he quotes at greater length, the addition of verses 118 and 119 would materially change the force of ἔδος and γαῖ'. The omission of these verses by Aristotle, therefore, indicates to my mind that they were not contained in his Hesiod.

(c) In two passages Aristotle gives πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν, where the manuscripts of Hesiod read κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι. For the reading of Aristotle we find no support among ancient authors. It has been thought that Aristotle confused the verse of Hesiod with this verse of the Homeric Hymns<sup>1</sup>:

*παῖς ἕμους, ὃς κε θεοῖσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν.*

That view is perhaps possible; and yet it is not impossible that Aristotle gives us a variant reading that has elsewhere disappeared.

Taking all of Aristotle's quotations together, I feel that they are tolerably accurate. Some differences between the quotations and the passages quoted are probably due to his carelessness; many are undoubtedly due to the blunders of scribes; but there is left a considerable number of differences that are best explained, I think, as coming from an earlier text tradition than is preserved in the extant manuscripts of the authors quoted, especially as I have proved, in a few cases at least, that a difference of text really existed. Feeling, therefore, that readings offered by Plato and

<sup>1</sup> 2, 149.

Aristotle must not be rejected merely because they find no support in the manuscripts of the authors quoted, but must be carefully considered as possibly giving independent testimony on many matters of text, let me approach my real subject,—the quotations from Homer.

## II. QUOTATIONS FROM HOMER.

### *Introductory.*

A very casual reading of a few of the scholia of Homer convinces us that there were, even in very early times, many manuscripts of that author. Some of the variants, though they have disappeared entirely from the body of the text of the extant manuscripts, are still preserved in the scholia. For example, in a scholion of Ven. A on Iliad 20, 11, we read: ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει ἐφίζανον. . . . τινὲς δὲ γράφουσιν ἐνίδρανον. In our extant manuscripts we read ἐνίζανον and ἐφίζανον, but nowhere ἐνίδρανον. In the scholia in manuscripts HMQ (Dindorf) on Odyssey 1, 93, we read: τινὲς πέμψω δ' ἐς Κρήτην τε, while the manuscripts of the Odyssey all show Σπάρτην τε.

Another proof of the antiquity of some of the variants is found in papyrus fragments, some of which go back to a very old date. I shall speak of only two of these fragments.

1. A papyrus fragment containing Iliad 24, verses 127–804. Of the many peculiarities of reading of this fragment let me select two as examples.

(a) In verse 215 the fragment reads *προς*. Ven. A and some other manuscripts read *πρὸς*; the rest have *πρὸς*. An interlinear gloss of Ven. A tells us: οὕτως χωρὶς τοῦ 5. The scholiast, then, knew both of these readings.

(b) In verse 320 the fragment has *δια*. Ven. A and many other manuscripts have *ἰπερ*, while the rest have *δι*'. In a marginal scholion of Ven. A we find: γρ. δι' ἄστεος. Both readings, then, were known to the scholiast. Now this fragment is assigned by La Roche<sup>1</sup> to the first century either B.C. or A.D. Hence we see that

<sup>1</sup> *Homerische Textkritik*, p. 439.

some of the Homeric variants are of high antiquity, and were known to the scholiasts.

2. The other fragment is of considerably greater importance for us. It is the one discovered recently in Egypt by Flinders Petrie.<sup>1</sup> It contains portions of Iliad 11, verses 502–537. Though there remain only the first letters of some verses and the last letters of others, the fragment shows remarkable differences when compared with the traditional readings of the Iliad. Let us note these differences.

(a) Verse 515. *Papyrus*, πασσων: *Il.*, πάσσειν. Some of the ancients suspected this verse of Homer, as we see by the scholion in Ven. A: ἀθετεῖται, . . . καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης προηθέτει· Ζηνόδοτος δὲ οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν.

(b) Verse 520. *Papyrus*, ως: *Il.*, νῆας.

(c) Verse 528. *Papyrus*, κειθ ιπ: *Il.*,<sup>2</sup> κείσ' ἴπ.

(d) Verses 529 and 530. *Papyrus*,<sup>3</sup> κουροι τ: *Il.* ἱππῆες and ἀλλήλους.

Besides, the fragment shows the endings of four verses not found in our manuscripts of Homer,—between 504 and 505 νοησεν, between 509 and 510 χις ελαιντο,<sup>4</sup> between 513 and 514 νοιο, and between 514 and 515 αλλους.<sup>5</sup> Both Mahaffy<sup>6</sup> and van Leeuwen<sup>7</sup> assign this fragment to the third century B.C. It is undoubtedly older than any other scrap of Homer that has come down to us, and offers invaluable suggestions with reference to early traditions of Homer. It preserves not only variants nowhere given in our Homeric manuscripts or scholia, but also traces of verses that have been lost to us. In view of these facts it will be unwise in our present investi-

<sup>1</sup> Published by Mahaffy (with other fragments) in *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Dublin, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Lips., κείθ'.

<sup>3</sup> So Mahaffy; but van Leeuwen says (*Mnemosyne* 20, 1892, pp. 127–130), the fragment reads ΑΤ ΙΠ or ΑΤ ΙΠ.

<sup>4</sup> Van Leeuwen thinks it is χη ελαιν.

<sup>5</sup> This word, as van Leeuwen says, has been accidentally omitted by Mahaffy in his transcription.

<sup>6</sup> *Athenaeum*, Dec. 6, 1890, no. 3293, p. 777.

<sup>7</sup> *Mnemosyne*, 20, 1892, p. 127.



gation to reject without consideration any variants offered by ancient authors, even if they are unsubstantiated by any of our Homeric manuscripts or scholia.

At last we are ready, I think, to examine thoughtfully the passages quoted from Homer by Plato and Aristotle. Some of these are only phrases or parts of verses, but I have included them in the list of quotations.

*Plato's Quotations from Homer.*

A. NO VARIANTS.

Plato gives many Homeric quotations that in the manuscripts used by the best editors show no readings different from those in the best manuscripts of Homer. The minor differences of breathing, accent, adscript *iota* and movable *nu* I have not considered as variants, for any manuscript tradition on these points is comparatively modern and entitled to little consideration. There are fourteen of these quotations that show no variants.

1. *Conviv.* 219 A = *Il.* 6, 236 :

χρύσεια χαλκείων

The entire verse is quoted by Aristotle.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Phaedo* 112 A = *Il.* 8, 14 :

τῆλε μάλ' ἤχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον.

3. *Crat.* 392 A = *Il.* 14, 291 :

χαλκίδα κυκλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν,

This verse is quoted thus by Aristotle<sup>2</sup> also.

4. *Rep.* 3, 388 C = *Il.* 18, 54 :

ὦμοι ἐγὼ δειλή, ὦμοι δυσαριστοτόκεια.

5. *Apol.* 28 D = *Il.* 18, 98 :

αὐτίκα, φησί, τεθναίην

6. *Gorg.* 449 A = *Il.* 20, 241 and often :

εὐχομαι εἶναι,

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. Nic.* 5, 11 (p. 1136 b 10).

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. An.* 9, 12 (p. 615 b 10).

7. *Protag.* 340 A = *Il.* 21, 308-309 :  
     φίλε κασίγνητε, σθένος ἀνέρος ἀμφότεροί περ  
     σχῶμεν.
8. *Rep.* 3, 387 A = *Il.* 23, 100-101 :  
     ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονός, ἥντε καπνός,  
     ῥῆχeto τετριγυῖα.
9. *Rep.* 3, 391 B = *Il.* 23, 151 :  
     Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωι, ἔφη, κόμην ὀπάσαιμι φέρεσθαι,
10. *Alcibiad.* II.<sup>1</sup> 142 E = *Od.* 1, 34 :  
     ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγ᾽ ἔχουσι.
11. *Protag.* 315 B = *Od.* 11, 601 :  
     Τὸν δὲ μετ' εἰσενόησα,
12. *Rep.* 3, 390 B = *Od.* 12, 342 :  
     λιμῶ δ' οἴκτιστον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπείν
13. *Epist.* 7, 345 E = *Od.* 12, 428 :  
     ὄφρ' ἔτι τὴν ὁλοὴν ἀναμετρήσαιμι χάρυβδιν,
14. *Theaet.* 170 E = *Od.* 16, 121 :  
     μάλα μυρίοι

B. SLIGHT VARIANTS.

To the list just given may properly be added twenty-one other passages, in which the variants, whether in the manuscripts of Plato or Homer, are slight and such as constantly arise from the carelessness of scribes.

1. *Rep.* 3, 389 A = *Il.*<sup>2</sup> 1, 599-600 :  
     ἀσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν,  
     ὡς ἴδον Ἥφαιστον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα.
2. *Rep.* 3, 389 E = *Il.*<sup>3</sup> 4, 412 :  
     τέττα, σιωπῇ ἦσο, ἐμῶ δ' ἐπιπείθεο μύθῳ,

<sup>1</sup> So Schanz, though the codices of Plato have *ὑπέρμορον*. The codices of Homer vary between *ὑπὲρ μόρον* and *ὑτέρμορον*. That this difference was felt as a real variant is seen by schol. MQ (*Od.*): οὐ σύνθετον τὸ ὑπὲρ μόρον. Cod. B (Plato) has *ἀλγ' ἔχουσιν*.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. G, δ' ἐνῶρτο.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. A, τέττα; N, σιγῇ.

3. *Crat.* 415 A = *Il.* 6, 265 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> μή με ἀπογνιώσῃς μένεος.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> μή μ' ἀπογνιώσῃς μένεος,

- 4 (and 5). *Theactet.* 152 E and *Crat.*<sup>3</sup> 402 B = *Il.*<sup>4</sup> 14, 201 and 302 :

Ἵκκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν

6. *Rep.* 3, 386 D = *Il.*<sup>5</sup> 16, 856–857 and 22, 362–363 :

ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ρεθέων παταμένη Ἀιδόσδε βεβήκει,

ὃν πότμον γόωσα, λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην .

7. *Phil.*<sup>6</sup> 47 E = *Il.* 18, 108–109 :

πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι,

ὅς τε πολλὸν γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο —

8. *Rep.* 3, 386 D = *Il.*<sup>7</sup> 20, 64–65 :

οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη

σμερδαλέ', εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ .

9. *Crat.* 391 E = *Il.*<sup>8</sup> 20, 74 :

ὃν Ξάνθον, φησί, καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον

10. *Rep.* 3, 391 A = *Il.*<sup>9</sup> 22, 20 :

ἦ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δυνάμεις γε παρείη.

11. *Leg.* 7, 804 A = *Od.*<sup>10</sup> 3, 26–28 :

Τηλέμαχ', ἄλλα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νοήσεις,

ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται· οὐ γὰρ οἶω

οὐ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε.

12. *Leg.* 3, 680 B = *Od.*<sup>11</sup> 9, 112–115 :

τοῖσιν δ' οὐτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες,

ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὁρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα

ἐν σπέεσι γλαφυροῖσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος

παίδων ἢδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. T, ἀπογνιώσῃς, emended to ἀπογνιώσῃς.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. LO, μένεος δ'; G, μένεος τ'.

<sup>3</sup> Text, γένεσιν φησιν. Cod. T omits φησιν.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. H (verse 201), γε.

<sup>5</sup> Cod G (verse 857), ἀδροτῆτα; Cant. Mor., ἀδροτῆτα.

<sup>6</sup> Many cod., ὥς τε πάν.

<sup>7</sup> Many cod., φανήη, with and without *iotas*.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. L Harlei., κάμανδρον.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. D, εἰ μή.

<sup>10</sup> Cod. K, οὐδὲ θεῶν σ'.

<sup>11</sup> Cod. I, οἷδ'; DFIK, σπέεσι; AQ, σπέεσι; K, γλαφυροῖσι; K, παίδων τ'.

The words *θεμιστεύει* . . . *ἀλόχων* are so quoted by Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> Once<sup>2</sup> also he refers to them, but with the reading *παίδων ἥδ' ἀλόχου*.

13. *Rep.*<sup>3</sup> 3, 389 D = *Od.*<sup>4</sup> 17, 383-384:

οἱ δημοεργοὶ ἕασι,  
μάντιν ἢ ἱγτῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων,

14. *Rep.* 2, 381 D = *Od.*<sup>5</sup> 17, 485-486:

θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εἰκότες ἄλλοδαποῖσι,  
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες ἐπιστροφῶσι πόληας.

15. *Soph.* 216 C = *Od.*<sup>6</sup> 17, 486:

ἐπιστροφῶσι πόληας,

16. *Minos*,<sup>7</sup> 319 B = *Od.*<sup>8</sup> 19, 174:

ἐνενήκοντα πόληας,

17. *Minos*,<sup>9</sup> 319 B = *Od.*<sup>10</sup> 19, 178-179:

τῇσι δέ, φησίν, ἐνι Κνωσσὸς μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως  
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστής.

18. *Minos*, 319 D = *Od.*<sup>11</sup> 19, 179:

ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστής,

19. *Rep.* 4, 441 B = *Od.*<sup>12</sup> 20, 17:

στῆθος δὲ πλῆξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ.

20 (and 21). *Rep.* 3, 390 D, and *Phaedo*,<sup>13</sup> 94 D = *Od.*<sup>14</sup> 20, 17-18:

στῆθος δὲ πλῆξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ.  
τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης.

<sup>1</sup> *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252 b 22).

<sup>2</sup> *Eth. Nic.* 10, 10 (p. 1180 a 28).

<sup>3</sup> Some cod. have *δημιουργοί*.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. QV, ἕασσι; D, μάντιν γ' (omitting ἢ); HIL, μάντιν γ' ἢ; M, μήλων and γρ. δούρων.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. Q, τελέθωσιν; V, τελέθωσι; C, πόλιας.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. C, πόλιας.

<sup>7</sup> Some cod. have *ἐννενήκοντα*.

<sup>8</sup> Most cod. have *ἐνενήκοντα*. La Roche edits *ἐννήκοντα*, which is demanded by the metre.

<sup>9</sup> Many cod., *Κνωσός*.

<sup>10</sup> Many cod., τοῖσι; very many, *κνωσσός*; La Roche edits *Κνωσός*; A (recent hand) CL, *ἐννέωρος*; many, *δαριστός*; N, *δαριστεύς*; S, *ὁ δαριστός*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. note 10.

<sup>12</sup> Cod. G, *στήθεα*; H, *ἠνίπαπε*, γρ. *ἠνίπαπε*.

<sup>13</sup> A few of the best cod. have *ἠνείπαπε*.

<sup>14</sup> Cod. G, *στήθεα*; H, *ἠνίπαπε*, γρ. *ἠνείπαπε*; many cod. omit *δὴ*; N, *ἀλλά*.

C. PLATO AGREES WITH THE BEST MANUSCRIPTS OF HOMER, THOUGH  
THERE WERE OTHER HOMERIC READINGS.

There are nineteen passages in which the readings of Plato agree with those of the best manuscripts of Homer, although other Homeric manuscripts or the scholiasts or Eustathius show that there were other<sup>1</sup> readings known to the ancients.

1. *Rep.* 3, 393 A = *Il.*<sup>2</sup> 1, 15-16:

καὶ ἐλίσσεται πάντας Ἀχαιούς,  
'Ατρείδα δὲ μάλιστα δύνω κοσμήτορε λαῶν

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι τινὲς Ἀτρείδας.

Though these verses are repeated in Homer,<sup>3</sup> the context of Plato makes it clear that he is referring to the earlier passage, for he says, — Οἷσθ' οὖν, ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν (then comes the quotation) λέγει τε αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητής, a statement that would not be true if it referred to *Il.* 1, 374-375.

2. *Rep.* 3, 389 E = *Il.* 1, 225:

οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφαιο

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηρόδοτος τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἡθέτηκεν, ἕως τοῦ ναὶ μὰ τὸδε σκήπτρον (verse 234).

3. *Crat.* 428 D = *Il.* 1, 343 and 3,<sup>4</sup> 109:

ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω.

Schol. Ven. A (3, 108), — ἀπὸ τούτου ἕως τοῦ λείσσει (verse 110) ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι τρεῖς. It is uncertain to which passage of Homer Plato refers.

4. *Hipp. Min.* 370 A = *Il.*<sup>5</sup> 9, 312-313:

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀῖδαο πύλῃσιν,  
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπη,

Eustathius seems to have had the reading βάζῃ, for twice in explaining verse 313 he uses the verb βάζω.

<sup>1</sup> Under the head of *other readings* I have included verses which, though they are preserved in our manuscripts, were rejected by any of the old critics.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. A, λίσσεται; and it is so edited by La Roche.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 1, 374-375.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. E, πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. G, ἐκείνος; many cod., κεύθει; H, κεύφη.

5. *Leg.* 10, 906 E = *Il.* 9, 500:

Plat.<sup>1</sup> λοιβῇ τε οἶνον κνίσῃ

Hom.<sup>2</sup> λοιβῇ τε κνίσῃ

Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῃ λοιβῆς τε κνίσῃς τε.

Though Plato has amplified the expression λοιβῇ τε into λοιβῇ τε οἶνον, it is clear that he had our manuscript reading of Homer, for in the *Republic*<sup>3</sup> he quotes the verse in full just as we have it in our Homeric manuscripts.

6. *Crat.* 428 C = *Il.*<sup>4</sup> 9, 644–645:

Αἴαν Διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,  
πάντα τί μοι κατὰ θυμὸν εἴσω μυθήσασθαι.

Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων διηρημένως εἴσαο.

7 (and 8). *Conviv.* 174 D and *Protag.* 348 D = *Il.* 10, 224:

Plat. (*Conviv.*)<sup>5</sup>

Σύν τε δὺ', ἔφη, ἐρχομένῳ πρὸς ὁ τοῦ

Plat. (*Protag.*) and Homer<sup>6</sup>

σύν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένῳ, καί τε πρὸς ὁ τοῦ ἐνόησεν.

Schol. Ven. A, — συνερχόμενοι δύο ἀντὶ τοῦ συνερχομένων. ἔνιοι δὲ μὴ νοήσαντες τὸ ὅ προστιθέασι, κακῶς.

The first four words of this verse are twice quoted by Aristotle.<sup>7</sup> The verse is parodied once by Plato.<sup>8</sup>

9. *Conviv.*<sup>9</sup> 214 B = *Il.* 11, 514:

ιητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιός ἄλλων.

Schol. Townl., — Ζηνόδοτος δὲ οὐ γράφει· Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἀθετεῖ.

10. *Rep.* 3, 390 C = *Il.* 14, 296:

φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας

Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 1, 609), — λήθοντο.

<sup>1</sup> Many cod. have λοιβῇ γε and κνίσῃ.

<sup>2</sup> Many cod. have κνίσῃ.

<sup>3</sup> 2, 364 E.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. G Mor, κοίραν' ἀχαιῶν; H, δῆ (for τί); EL, εἴσαο.

<sup>5</sup> Best codices, ὁδοῦ (for ὁ τοῦ).

<sup>6</sup> Cod. G, ἐρχομένῳ; L, καί τοι.

<sup>7</sup> *Pol.* 3, 16 (p. 1287 b 14) and *Eth. Nic.* 8, 1 (p. 1155 a 15).

<sup>8</sup> *Alcibiad.* II., 140 A.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. B, λατρὸς.

11. *Rep.* 3, 391 A = *Il.* 22, 15 :

ἐβλαψάς μ' ἐκάεργε, θεῶν ὀλοώτατε πάντων·

Schol. Ven. B, — τινὲς δὲ δολοώτατε. Schol. Townl., — οἱ δὲ γράφουσι δολοώτατε. Eustathius (1254, 31), — τινὲς δὲ γράφουσι δολοώτατε.

12. *Rep.* 3, 386 D = *Il.*<sup>1</sup> 23, 103-104 :

ὦ πόποι, ἣ ῥά τ' ἔστι καὶ εἰν' Αἴδαο δόμοισι  
ψυχὴ καὶ εἶδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν·

Schol. Ven. A (on verse 104), — ἐνσέεισται ἐκ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας ὁ στίχος. Schol. Townl., — γράφεται δὲ καὶ πᾶσαι.

13. *Axioch.* 367 D = *Il.*<sup>2</sup> 24, 525-526 :

ὥς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,  
ζῶειν ἀχυνμένοις,

The reading, ἀχυνμένοις, of Plato and most of the manuscripts of Homer is confirmed by Stobaeus<sup>3</sup> and Plutarch.<sup>4</sup> The reading, ἀχυνμένους, given by two manuscripts of Homer, seems to have been a real variant, for it is quoted for Homer in one passage of Stobaeus.<sup>5</sup>

14. *Rep.*<sup>6</sup> 3, 386 C = *Od.*<sup>7</sup> 11, 489-491 :

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπαρουρος ἐὼν θητενέμεν ἄλλω  
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, [ὧ μὴ βίोटος πολὺς εἴη,]  
ἣ πᾶσιν νεκίεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν·

Schol. H, — τινὲς δὲ πάρουρος, ὁ ἀκόλουθος, οὐκ εἶ. Eustathius (1695, 36), — τὸ δὲ βουλοίμην κ' ἐπαρουρος διττὴν ἔχει γραφήν. ἣ γὰρ ἐπαρουρος . . . ἣ τρισυλλάβως πάρουρος.

The reading, ἐπαρουρος, is verified by Plato<sup>8</sup> again in the Republic, where he refers to these verses of Homer.

<sup>1</sup> A few cod., τι; C, αὐτὰρ.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. ES, ἀχυνμένους.

<sup>3</sup> *Floril.* 98, 50 and 98, 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Moral.* 105 C.

<sup>5</sup> *Floril.* 124, 14.

<sup>6</sup> In the best codices ὧ . . . εἴη is lacking. These words were probably added by somebody who knew the passage in Homer.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. I omits verses 489-535.

<sup>8</sup> *Rep.* 7, 516 D.

15. *Gorg.* 526 D = *Od.*<sup>1</sup> 11, 569:

χρύσειον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσιν.

Schol. H (on verse 568), — νοθεύεται μέχρι τοῦ ὡς εἰπὼν . . . εἶσω (verse 627).

A part of this verse is quoted again by Plato in the *Minos*.<sup>2</sup>

16. *Char.* 161 A = *Od.*<sup>3</sup> 17, 347:

αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι

Eustath. (1823, 29), — προϊκτῇ.

17. *Leg.* 10, 904 E = *Od.* 19, 43:

αὐτῇ τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν, οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν,

Eustath. (1854, 45), — τινὲς δὲ γράφουσιν, αὐτῇ τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεοῦ.

18. *Rep.* 2, 363 B = *Od.*<sup>4</sup> 19, 109–113:

ἡ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, ὅστε θεοῦδης  
εὐδικίας ἀνέχῃσι, φέρῃσι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα  
πυροὺς καὶ κριθάς, βρίθῃσι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῶ,  
τίκτῃ δ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθῦς.

Schol. H, — πάντα, οὐ μῆλα. The omission of verse 110 I shall consider later.

19. *Rep.* 1, 334 B = *Od.* 19, 396:

κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκῳ τε.

Schol. L (La Roche), — γρ. [τε] νόῳ τε (for θ' ὄρκῳ τε).

#### D. QUOTATIONS WOVEN INTO THE TEXT.

There are twenty-two passages in which Plato, while weaving a phrase or a verse of Homer into the structure of his sentence, shows that he had Homeric readings identical with ours; or at least the quotation has nothing inconsistent with our readings.

<sup>1</sup> Many cod. have νεκύεσσιν; S, νεκέεσσιν.

<sup>2</sup> 319 D.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. A, προϊκτῇ (γρ. παρῖναι by a recent hand); G, αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴν φησ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρὶ προϊκτῇ; M, γρ. φησ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρὶ προϊκτῇ.

<sup>4</sup> Very many cod. have τίκτει; M, τίκτεῖ; AI, πάντα (for μῆλα); H (in margin), πάντα, οὐ μῆλα; A (recent hand), γρ. μῆλα; many, παρέχει.



1. *Conviv.* 183 E refers to *Il.* 2, 71 :

Plat. ἄμα γὰρ τῷ τοῦ σώματος ἀνθὲι λήγοντι, οὐπὲρ ἡρα, οἷχεται  
ἀποπτάμενος,

Hom. ᾤχετ' ἀποπτάμενος, ἐμὲ δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνήκεν.

2. *Alcibiad.* *II.* 141 D refers to *Il.* 2, 303 :

Plat. οἶμαι δέ σε οὐκ ἀνήκοον εἶναι ἐνιά γε χθιζά τε καὶ  
πρωιζὰ γεγεννημένα,

Hom.<sup>1</sup> χθιζά τε καὶ πρωίξ', ὅτ' ἐς Αὐλίδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν

3. *Phaedr.* 260 A refers to *Il.*<sup>2</sup> 2, 361 :

Plat. Οὔτοι ἀπόβλητον ἔπος εἶναι δεῖ,

Hom. οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητον ἔπος ἔσσεται, ὅττι κεν εἴπω.

4. *Alcibiad.* *I.* 132 A refers to *Il.* 2, 547 :

Plat. εὐπρόσωπος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ μεγαλήτορος δῆμος Ἐρεχθέως.

Hom. δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη

In the passage in Plato the epic form has been changed to the Attic Ἐρεχθέως. Such a change — common in the manuscripts of Plato — is generally due, I think, to scribes. Here, however, as Plato rather hints at the passage than quotes it, he may well have used the form Ἐρεχθέως himself.

5. *Theaetet.* 194 E refers either to *Il.* 2, 851 or to *Il.* 16, 554 :

Plat.<sup>3</sup> Ὅταν τοῖνυν λάσιόν του τὸ κῆρ ᾗ, ὃ δὴ ἐπῆνεσεν ὁ πάσσοφος  
ποιητής,

Hom. (*Il.* 2, 851) Παφλαγόνων δ' ἡγήτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ

Hom. (*Il.* 16, 554) ὦρσε Μενουτιάδεω Πατροκλῆος λάσιον κῆρ.

6. *Theaetet.* 183 E refers to *Il.* 3, 172 :

Plat. Παρμενίδης δέ μοι φαίνεται, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, αἰδοῖός τέ  
μοι εἶναι ἄμα δεινός τε.

Hom. αἰδοῖός τέ μοί ἐσσι φίλε ἔκυρὲ δεινός τε.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. G, πρωιζὰ; C, πρωίξ'.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. DGH, οὔτι.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. κέαρ.

7. *Alcibiad. II.* 150 D refers to *Il.* 5, 127-128:

Plat.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, ὥσπερ τῷ Διομήδει φησὶν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν  
 "Ὀμηρος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀφελεῖν τὴν ἀχλὺν, ὅφρ'  
 εὖ γιγνώσκοι ἡμὲν θεὸν ἥδ' ἐκὼν καὶ ἄνδρα,

Hom.<sup>2</sup> ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἥ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,  
 ὅφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἥδ' ἐκὼν καὶ ἄνδρα.

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει ἡμὲν θεὸν ἥδ' ἄνθρωπον.

8. *Crat.* 407 D refers to *Il.* 5, 221-222:

Plat. περὶ δὲ ἄλλων ὧν τινων βούλει πρόβαλλέ μοι, ὅφρα ἴδῃαι  
 οἷοι Εὐθύφρονος ἵπποι.

Hom. ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐμῶν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσῃ, ὅφρα ἴδῃαι,  
 οἷοι Τρώιοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίοιο

9. *Rep.* 5, 468 D refers to *Il.* 7, 321:

Plat. καὶ γὰρ Ὀμηρος τὸν εὐδοκμήσαντα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ νώτοι-  
 σιν Αἴαντα ἔφη διηνεκέεσσι γεραίρεσθαι,

Hom. νώτοισιν δ' Αἴαντα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρεν

10. *Epist.* 7, 344 D refers to *Il.* 7, 360 or *Il.* 12, 234:

Plat. ἐξ ἄρα, δὴ οἱ ἔπειτα, θεοὶ μὲν οὐ, βροτοὶ δὲ φρένας ὤλεσαν  
 αὐτοί.

Hom. ἐξ ἄρα, δὴ τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί.

The author of this Epistle has changed the second person *τοι* to the third person *οἱ*, to adapt the quotation to his purpose.

I might note the interjection of the expression *μὲν οὐ, βροτοὶ* δέ, which interrupts the metre.

11. *Crito* 44 A refers to *Il.* 9, 363:

Plat.<sup>3</sup> Ἐδόκει τίς μοι γυνή . . . καλέσαι με καὶ εἰπεῖν· ὦ Σώκρατες,  
 ἡματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίῳ ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> ἡματί κε τριτάτῳ Φθίῳ ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιμην.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. B, γινώσκει.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. L, γιγνώσκεις; A and some others, γινώσκεις; H, γινώσκῃς; several, γινώσκῃς.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. D, Φθίῳ; B, Φθῆν.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. D, Φθίῳ δ'.

12. *Gorg.* 485 D refers to *Il.* 9, 441:

Plat. τὰς ἀγοράς, ἐν αἷς ἔφη ὁ ποιητὴς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀριπρεπεῖς  
γίγνεσθαι,

Hom.<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσι.

13. *Conviv.* 179 A refers either to *Il.* 10, 482 or to *Il.* 15, 262:

Plat. ὥστε ὁμοῖον εἶναι τῷ ἀρίστῳ φύσει, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς, ὃ ἔφη  
"Ὀμηρος, μένος ἐμπνεῦσαι ἐνίοις τῶν ἡρώων τὸν θεόν,

Hom. (*Il.* 10, 482) ὥς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἐμπνευσεν μένος γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,

Hom. (*Il.* 15, 262)<sup>2</sup> ὥς εἰπὼν ἐμπνευσεν μένος μέγα ποιμένι λαῶν.

14. *Rep.* 8, 566 C refers either to *Il.* 16, 776 or to *Od.* 24, 40:

Plat. Ὁ δὲ δὴ προστάτης ἐκείνος αὐτὸς δῆλον δὴ ὅτι μέγας  
μεγαλωστὶ οὐ κεῖται,

Hom. (*Il.*) κείτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.

Hom. (*Od.*)<sup>3</sup> κείσο μέγας μεγαλωστί λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.

15. *Conviv.* 174 B refers to *Il.* 17, 587-588:

Plat. ποιήσας γὰρ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα τὰ  
πολεμικά, τὸν δὲ Μενέλεων μαλθακὸν αἰχμητὴν,

Hom.<sup>4</sup> οἷον δὴ Μενέλαον ὑπέτρεσας, ὃς τὸ πάρος περ  
μαλθακὸς αἰχμητῆς· νῦν δ' οἴχεται οἶος ἀείρας

16. *Rep.* 3, 388 A refers to *Il.* 18, 23-24:

Plat. Πάλιν δὴ Ὀμήρου τε δεησόμεθα . . . μὴ ποιεῖν Ἀχιλλέα,  
θεῶς παῖδα, . . . μὴδὲ ἀμφοτέρησι χερσὶν ἐλόντα  
κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν χενάμενον κακὰ κεφαλῆς·

Hom. ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν  
χεῖατο κακὰ κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἦσχυεν πρόσωπον·

17. *Rep.* 3, 388 B refers to *Il.* 22, 414-415:

Plat.<sup>5</sup> μὴδὲ Πρίαμον ἐγγὺς θεῶν γεγονότα λιτανεύοντά τε καὶ  
κυλινδόμενον κατὰ κόπρον, ἐξονομακλήδην ὄνο-  
μάζοντ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. GL, ἀγοράων; D, τελέθουσι.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. L omits this verse; Vrat b A, ἐπνευσε.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. DL, μεγαλοστί.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. H, ὑπέτρεσας; A, πάρος γε.

<sup>5</sup> Some cod. have κυλινδούμενον; some cod., κόπρον.

Hom.<sup>1</sup> πάντας δὲ λιτάνευε κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον,  
ἐξονομακλήδην ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον·

18. *Protag.* 309 A refers either to *Il.*<sup>2</sup> 24, 348 or to *Od.*<sup>3</sup> 10, 279 :

Plat. οὐ σὺ μέντοι Ὅμηρον ἐπαινέτης εἶ, ὃς ἔφη χαριεστάτην  
ἦβην εἶναι τοῦ ὑπηνήτου,

Hom. πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἦβη.

19. *Phaedr.* 266 B refers to *Od.* 5, 193 :

Plat. τοῦτον διώκω κατόπισθε μετ' ἵχνιον ὥστε θεοῖο.

Hom. καρπαλίμως· ὃ δ' ἔπειτα μετ' ἵχνια βᾶινε θεοῖο.

At first sight Plato's words seem inconsistent with those of Homer. The differences, however, are easily explicable. The expression τοῦτον διώκω, while not attempting to reproduce βαῖνε, takes the place of it. The use of ἵχνιον in the singular avoids a hiatus before ὥστε and preserves the rhythm. The word ὥστε is used to suggest the comparison. The epic genitive θεοῖο is sufficient to show that Plato had this verse in mind.

20. *Rep.* 7, 516 D refers to *Od.* 11, 489–491 :

Plat. ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ὅμηρου ἂν πεπονθέναι καὶ σφόδρα βούλεσθαι  
ἐπάρουρον ἐόντα θητενέμεν ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ παρ'  
ἁκλήρῳ

Hom.<sup>4</sup> βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητενέμεν ἄλλῳ,  
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἁκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίσιος πολὺς εἴη,

21. *Protag.* 315 D refers to *Od.* 11, 582 :

Plat.<sup>5</sup> Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Τάνταλόν γε εἰσεῖδον.

Hom.<sup>6</sup> καὶ μὲν Τάνταλον εἰσεῖδον χαλέπ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Vrat A, ἐλιτάνευσε.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. S, πρῶτω.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. N, πρῶτω; QV, χαριέστατος; A (recent hand), γρ. δὴ (for τοῦ περ).

<sup>4</sup> For variant readings and scholia cf. above p. 182, where this passage has already been given.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. BT, εἰσιδον, but B with a note in the margin to indicate that there is a mistake.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. H (first hand) K, καὶ μιν; C, τάνταλόν τ' εἰσιδον; many cod., κρατέρ' (for χαλέπ').

22. *Laches* 201 B refers to *Od.* 17, 347 :

Plat. τὸν Ὅμηρον δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι προβάλλεσθαι, ὃς ἔφη  
οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αἰδῶ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι.

Hom.<sup>1</sup> αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὸν κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι.

This verse is quoted exactly in the *Charmides*.<sup>2</sup>

#### E. ATTIC FOR EPIC WORDS.

In a few passages the readings of the manuscripts of Plato agree with those of the manuscripts of Homer, except that a few Attic have been substituted for epic forms. As Plato in quoting these or similar passages elsewhere has sometimes given the real epic form, we must attribute these Atticisms not to him, but to the scribes.

1. *Laches* 191 A = *Il.*<sup>3</sup> 5, 223 and *Il.* 8, 107 :

Plat. καὶ Ὅμηρός ποῦ ἐπαινῶν τοὺς τοῦ Αἰνείου ἵππους κραιπνὰ  
μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἔφη αὐτοὺς ἐπίστασθαι διώκειν ἥδὲ  
φέβεσθαι.

Hom. κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διωκόμεν ἥδὲ φέβεσθαι.

The confusion of such forms as διώκειν and διωκόμεν in the manuscripts of Homer is too common to call for comment here. The form διώκειν in Plato may well be attributed to a scribe.

2. *Soph.* 268 D = *Il.*<sup>4</sup> 6, 211 and *Il.* 20, 241 :

Plat. ταύτης τῆς γενεᾶς τε καὶ αἵματος

Hom. ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι.

The form *κραδίην* is similar in its declension to *γενεῆς*. The former is quoted by Plato in the *Republic*<sup>5</sup> from the *Iliad*,<sup>6</sup> and also in another passage of the *Republic*<sup>7</sup> from the *Odyssey*.<sup>8</sup> So Plato surely was familiar with this epic or Ionic declension. Besides, in a passage of the *Republic*<sup>9</sup> where the same phrase is found, many

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 183, where the variants of this verse are given in full.

<sup>2</sup> 161 A.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. G, φέεσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. G, δῆ (for τοι); D, γενεᾶς (here, too, probably through a fault of the copyist); H Cant, καὶ (for τε καὶ); L, τοι καὶ; Lips, Mosc. 3, καὶ εὐχομαι αἵματος εἶναι.

<sup>5</sup> 3, 389 E.

<sup>6</sup> 1, 225.

<sup>7</sup> 4, 441 B.

<sup>8</sup> 20, 17.

<sup>9</sup> 8, 547 A.

manuscripts show *ταύτης τοι γενεῆς*. The natural supposition, therefore, is that a scribe of Plato's manuscript has changed the epic *γενεῆς* to the Attic *γενεᾶς*. The same scribe or another may then have changed *τοι* to *τῆς*, that the full Attic usage might be shown. That Plato himself was not responsible for this change from *τοι* to *τῆς*, is evident from the passage in the Republic<sup>1</sup> just cited, where we find the Homeric expression *ταύτης τοι γενεᾶς* (or *γενεῆς*).

3. *Rep.* 2, 364 D = *Il.* 9, 497-501:

Plat.<sup>2</sup> στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,  
καὶ τοὺς μὲν θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς ἀγαναῖσι  
λοιβῇ τε κνίσῃ τε παρατρῶσ' ἄνθρωποι  
λίσσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῇ καὶ ἀμάρτη.

Hom.<sup>3</sup> νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχειν· στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,  
τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἄρετῇ τιμὴ τε βίη τε.  
καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῇς ἀγανῇσι  
λοιβῇ τε κνίσῃ τε παρατρῶσ' ἄνθρωποι  
λίσσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῇ καὶ ἀμάρτη.

To verse 500 Plato refers in the Laws.<sup>4</sup> Of the omission of verse 498 I shall speak later. Perhaps a possible explanation of *θυσίαισι* is that a copyist has carelessly written the more common Attic word in place of the epic and poetic *θύος*. Then the metre may have helped to produce the poetic or old Attic ending *αισι*. The *μὲν τοὺς* of Homer has suffered inversion in Plato through somebody's carelessness. The form *εὐχολαῖς* may be explained as an Atticism.

4. *Rep.* 3, 388 C = *Il.* 16, 433-434:

Plat. αἱ αἱ ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν  
Μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο δαμῆναι.

Hom.<sup>5</sup> ὦ μοι ἐγών, ὃ τέ μοι Σαρπηδόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν,  
μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο δαμῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> 8, 547 A.

<sup>2</sup> Many cod. (verse 497), γε (for τε); many cod., λίστοι δέ (before στρεπτοι); some cod., ἀγανῇσι; Flor. x, εὐχολῆς.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. L, τρεπτοι; G, εὐχολαῖσιν ἀγαναῖσι; A, εὐχολῆσι; CEGHL, κνίσση; G, παρατρῶσιν; H, ὑπερβλή; L, ὑπερβέη καὶ ἀμάρτοι. Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῃ λóιβης τε κνίσσης τε. <sup>4</sup> 10, 906 E. <sup>5</sup> Cod. H, μιν.

We see from this same section of Plato — Republic 3, 388 C — where we read ὦμοι ἐγὼ δειλή, ὦμοι δυσαριστοτόκεια, that the exclamation ὦμοι was known to Plato as Homeric; so I suspect that the un-Homeric αἰ αἰ is to be attributed to some scribe, who has substituted this common Attic form.

5. *Minos* 319 D = *Od.* 11, 569:

Plat. χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα

Hom.<sup>1</sup> χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσιν,

Here we may consider either that Plato meant merely to refer to the words of Homer, without quoting them exactly, or — as seems to me more probable — that the Attic form χρυσοῦν is due to a scribe.<sup>2</sup> For in the *Gorgias*<sup>3</sup> Plato quotes the entire verse of Homer just as our Homeric manuscripts give it.

6. *Rep.* 3, 387 A = *Od.* 24, 6–9:

Plat. ὥς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῶ ἄντρον θεσπεσίοιο  
τρίζουσαι ποτέονται, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν  
ὄρμαθ' ἐκ πέτρης, ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλῃσιν ἔχονται,  
ὥς αἰ τετριγυῖαι ἄμ' ἦσαν.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> ὥς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῶ ἄντρον θεσπεσίοιο  
τρίζουσαι ποτέονται, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν  
ὄρμαθ' ἐκ πέτρης, ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλῃσιν ἔχονται,  
ὥς αἰ τετριγυῖαι ἄμ' ἦσαν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν

Here, too, I think we may say with great probability that a scribe has changed the epic ἦσαν — quoted by Plato from Homer — to the doubtful Attic ἦσαν.

F. PLATO'S VARIANTS SUBSTANTIATED.

In a few passages, where Plato has given us readings different from those of the traditional Homeric text, we find the most important variants of Plato substantiated either by some of the manu-

<sup>1</sup> Many cod. have νεκέσιν; S, νεκέσιν.

<sup>2</sup> We might compare ῥέκουν for ῥέκεον (*Leg.* 3, 681 E = *Il.* 20, 218).

<sup>3</sup> 526 D.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. A, τρύζουσαι; KS, ἄμα; M, ἄμα; ADL, ἀλλήλοισιν; M, ἔπονται with ἔχονται above); A, τετριγυῖαι.

scripts of Homer or by scholia of these manuscripts or by ancient authors.

1. *Hipp. Min.* 365 A = *Il.* 9, 308-314:

Plat.<sup>1</sup> Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
 χρὴ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν,  
 ὥσπερ δὴ κρανέω τε καὶ ὡς τελέεσθαι οἴω,  
 ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλῃσιν,  
 ὃς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπη.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
 χρὴ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν,  
 ἦ περ δὴ φρονέω τε καὶ ὡς τετελεσμένον ἔσται,  
 ὡς μή μοι τρύζητε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος.  
 ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλῃσιν,  
 ὃς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπη.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.

There are several points in this passage that demand discussion.

(a) ὥσπερ. We note that all the manuscripts of Plato, with one exception, read ὥσπερ, while all of the manuscripts of Homer, together with one of Plato, read ἦ περ. It may be that in this one manuscript of Plato has been preserved his original reading ἦ περ, identical with that of Homer, but there are certain facts that discredit this view. For, as we shall see presently, this passage of Plato undoubtedly shows some old variants. Besides, the one manuscript of Plato that reads ἦ περ is the only one that agrees with the Homeric manuscripts in reading τετελεσμένον ἔσται; so I suspect that it has been revised to agree with Homer, especially as it shows many other remarkable agreements with Homeric manuscripts. So it is quite possible that ὥσπερ is an old variant.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. S, ἦπερ (for ὥσπερ); S, ἦ γρ. (for ὡς, verse 310); W, τετελέεσθαι (for τελέεσθαι); S, τετελεσμένον ἔσται (for τελέεσθαι). A variant reading, as often, is κεύθει (for κεύθῃ).

<sup>2</sup> Cod. D omits δὴ (verse 309); A and many others, κρανέω (for φρονέω); C (second hand), γρ. φρονέω; D, ἐστὶ (verse 310); E, τρύζετε; D, τρώζετε; A Townl., παρήμενος; A, γρ. παρήμενοι; many cod., κεύθει; H, κεύφη; many cod., ἐρέω ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται (verse 314).



(*b*) *κρανέω*. All the manuscripts of Plato give *κρανέω*, while those of Homer give *κρανέω* or *φρονέω*. Both readings are recognized by Eustathius (751, 5), — *κρανέω ἢ φρονέω, διχῶς γὰρ γράφεται*. Aristarchus favored *φρονέω*, for in Schol. Ven. A we read, — *Ἀρίσταρχος ἦ περ δὴ φρονέω*, and in Townl., — *αἱ Ἀριστάρχου φρονέω*.

(*c*) *τελέεσθαι δίω*. The best manuscripts of Plato read *τελέεσθαι δίω*, while the Homeric manuscripts have *τετελεσμένον ἔσται*. This Homeric reading is supported, as I have said, by one manuscript of Plato. If that correctly represents Plato's original reading, then the two authors agree and no discussion is necessary. But the weight of evidence points to a real Homeric variant, *τελέεσθαι δίω*. For in verse 314 Plato's manuscripts read *τετελεσμένον ἔσται*, which is supported as a variant by many manuscripts of Homer, and by a scholion in Ven. A, — *ἐν ἄλλῃ ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται*. It seems unlikely that two verses so near together should have the same ending, and so I think that *τελέεσθαι δίω* is the right reading for Plato in verse 310 and represents an old variant of Homer, which Plato has here preserved.

(*d*) Of the omission of verse 311 I shall speak later.

(*e*) *καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται* (verse 314). While most of the manuscripts of Homer show *μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα*, the reading of the manuscripts of Plato is *καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται*, which is supported by many manuscripts of Homer, and by the scholion of Ven. A, — *ἐν ἄλλῃ ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται*.

Taking the passage as a whole, I think that the variants of Plato gain sufficient confirmation from the manuscripts and scholia of Homer, to entitle the whole quotation to our thoughtful consideration, as probably representing an early version of Homer.

2. *Hipp. Min.* 371 B = *Il.* 9, 650–655 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἱματόεντος,  
πρὶν γ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἐκτορα δῖον,  
Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθαι  
κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, κατὰ τε φλέξαι πυρὶ νῆας.  
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν τῇ 'μῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
Ἐκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι δίω.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. S, *σμέξαι*; Vindob. suppl. 7, <sup>συν</sup> *φλέξαι*.

Hom.<sup>1</sup> οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἱματόεντος,  
 πρὶν γ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἑκτορα δῶν,  
 Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθαι  
 κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, κατὰ τε σμύξαι πυρὶ νῆας.  
 ἀμφὶ δέ τοι τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
 Ἑκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι οἶω.

That the reading φλέξαι, given by the manuscripts of Plato, is a real Homeric variant, is shown from the scholion in Ven. A, — οὕτως σμύξαι Ἀρίσταρχος. οἶδε δὲ καὶ τὴν φλέξαι γραφήν. ὅτι γρ. καὶ κατὰ τε φλέξαι. The word μιν is due perhaps to carelessness on the part of the scribe. The difference between 'μῇ and ἐμῇ is too slight and too common to call for comment.

3. *Axiach.* 367 D = *Il.* 17, 446–447:

Plat. οὐ μὲν γάρ τί ποτ' ἐστὶν οἰζυρότερον ἀνδρός  
 πάντων ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἐπιπνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> οὐ μὲν γάρ τί πού ἐστιν οἰζυρότερον ἀνδρός  
 πάντων, ὅσσά τε γαῖαν ἐπιπνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

That the reading ποτ' of Plato is probably correct for that author is shown by Stobaeus,<sup>3</sup> who quotes these very words from Plato. In another passage,<sup>4</sup> where he gives the same words, Stobaeus seems to be quoting directly from Homer. If that is so, he helps to show that ποτ' may be an old variant for Homer.

4. *Leg.* 3, 681 E = *Il.* 20, 217–218:

Plat. ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
 ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ὥκουν πολυπιδάκου Ἰδῆς.

Hom.<sup>5</sup> ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
 ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ὥκεον πολυπιδάκος Ἰδῆς.

The change from ὥκεον to ὥκουν is undoubtedly the work of a scribe.<sup>6</sup> That Plato's manuscripts had ὥκεον in early times is clear from the fact that Strabo<sup>7</sup> thus quotes from Plato:

<sup>1</sup> Cod. G, σμύξαι; L, ἀργείους τε κατασμύξαι; some cod., μῆι or μῇ.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. H Vrat d, οἰζυρότερον; D, ὅσα.

<sup>3</sup> *Floril.* 98, 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Floril.* 98, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. G, ἀλλ' ἔθ'; E, ὥκουν; many cod., πολυπιδάκου.

<sup>6</sup> We have had a similar example of contraction in *Minos*, 319 D = *Od.* 11, 569; cf. above p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> 13, 1, 25 (C 593).

ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾗ κεον πολυπιδάκου Ἰδης.

This quotation of Strabo shows also that Plato wrote πολυπιδάκου. That this was a variant of Homer we know both from the manuscripts and from Schol. Ven. A, — γρ. πολυπιδάκου.

5. *Lysis*, 214 A = *Od.* 17, 218:

Plat. αἰεὶ τοι τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον

Hom.<sup>1</sup> ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

This same verse is quoted three times by Aristotle. In two instances<sup>2</sup> his manuscripts agree with those of Homer, but in the third<sup>3</sup> case he gives the same reading as Plato. It looks, therefore, as if there might have been, even in early times, a variation between αἰεὶ τοι and ὡς αἰεὶ.

6. *Leg.* 6, 777 A = *Od.* 17, 322–323:

Plat.<sup>4</sup> ἥμισυ γάρ τε νόου, φησὶν, ἀπαμείρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
ἀνδρῶν, οὗς ἂν δὴ κατὰ δούλιον ἥμαρ ἔλῃσι.

Hom. ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
ἀνέρος, εὖ τ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἥμαρ ἔλῃσιν.

At first sight it would seem as if the only explanation of the great difference between the quotation and the apparent original, would be to suppose a serious lapse of memory on the part of Plato. Fortunately for our investigation, and fortunately for a better idea of a possible explanation of such differences generally, we have the testimony of both Athenaeus<sup>5</sup> and Eustathius, to show that Plato is here giving an old variant, of which there is no trace in the manuscripts or scholia of Homer. Athenaeus, to be sure, is quoting from Plato, and really substantiates the correctness of the text of Plato alone; but he seems to have accepted Plato's text as a correct Homeric quotation. Besides, we read in Eustathius (1766, 55), — ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀπαμείρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς ἀνδρῶν, οὗς ἂν δὴ καὶ ἐξῆς, ὅπερ

<sup>1</sup> Cod. CDKL, ἐς (for the second ὡς); M, ἔς.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 7) and *Rhet.* 1, 11 (p. 1371 b 16).

<sup>3</sup> *Mag. Moral.* 2, 11 (p. 1208 b 10).

<sup>4</sup> Cod. A (first hand), ἀπαμείβεται.

<sup>5</sup> 6, 264.

σημαίνει ὅτι παρά τισιν ἄλλοις εὐρῆται κατ' ἑτεροίαν γραφήν, ἥμισυ γάρ τε νόου ἀπαμείρεται. With this testimony before him even La Roche, who in his text of Homer feels obliged to follow the Homeric manuscripts, is forced to admit, — “id vero negari non potest, Platonem et Athenaeum in Homero suo scriptum reperisse γάρ τε νόου ἀπαμείρεται . . . ἀνδρῶν οὗς ἂν δῇ.”<sup>1</sup>

#### G. NEW READINGS IN PLATO.

Now we come to those quotations from Homer which, although in individual variants they receive some confirmation from other sources, in general may be said to offer readings not elsewhere substantiated. These passages, however, should be viewed in the light of the points already discussed. Note, for example, the passage just dismissed. From a chance quotation of Athenaeus and from a remark of Eustathius, we are able to maintain a position that might otherwise have seemed untenable. A very easy explanation of the following passages is to assume that Plato by quoting from memory has wrongly given readings that never existed as real Homeric variants. Now, although that supposition may be true in some instances, it must not be assumed beforehand. In fact, I think that, in view of the many passages already discussed in which Plato has evidently quoted with accuracy, it is fairer to assume — unless we find strong evidence to the contrary — that Plato, whether he quoted from memory or not, has given what was in his text of Homer. In some of the following passages there is not much to be said, except to note the points of difference between the quotation and the accepted text of Homer.

1. *Hipp. Min.* 370 C = *Il.* 1, 169–171:

Plat. νῦν δ' εἰμι Φθίηνδ', ἐπειὴ πολλὸν λώϊόν ἐστιν  
οἴκαδ' ἔμην σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὐδέ σ' οἶω  
ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἐὼν ἄφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> νῦν δ' εἰμι Φθίην δ', ἐπεὶ ἡ πολλὸν φέρτερόν ἐστιν  
οἴκαδ' ἔμην σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὐδέ σ' οἶω  
ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἐὼν ἄφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν.

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<sup>1</sup> In his *Adnotatio Critica* on this passage.

<sup>2</sup> A few cod. have ἄφενον.

2. *Rep.* 3, 389 E = *Il.* 3, 8 and 4, 431:

Plat. ἴσαν μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί,  
 σιγῇ δειδιότες σημάντορας,  
 Hom. (*Il.* 3, 8) οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 Hom.<sup>1</sup> (*Il.* 4, 431) σιγῇ δειδιότες σημάντορας· ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι

It seems to me it would be unfair to Plato's education and scholarship, to assume that he has *ignorantly* brought together two verses that belong to different books of the *Iliad*. More natural is it to think that these two parts of verses were given to illustrate the point under discussion, namely the proper relation of men to their leaders. The absence of *σιγῇ* may be due either to Plato, who may have preferred not to use the same word in two successive lines of his dialogue, or, as seems to me more likely, to a scribe, who on seeing two examples of *σιγῇ* may have thought one of them a mistake of his predecessor.

3. *Rep.* 2, 379 E = *Il.* 4, 84:

Plat. οὐδ' ὥς ταμίας ἡμῶν Ζεὺς  
 ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται.  
 Hom.<sup>2</sup> Ζεὺς, ὃς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται.

This seems to represent an entirely different version from the traditional Homeric text.

4. *Rep.* 3, 408 A = *Il.* 4, 218:

Plat. ἥ οὐ μέμνησαι, ὅτι καὶ τῷ Μενέλεω ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος οὐδ' ὁ  
 Πάνδαρος ἔβαλεν αἷμ' ἐκμυζήσαντ' ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακ'  
 ἔπασσον,  
 Hom. αἷμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς  
 πᾶσσε,

Apart from the verbal differences of these two passages, Plato gives us an entirely different account. According to the traditional version Machaon, after sucking the blood from the wound of Menelaus, applies an ointment. Plato, evidently through carelessness, makes Machaon and his brother attend to the wound.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. H, *δειδιότες*.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. M, *ἀνθρώποις*; G, *ταμίας*.

5. *Rep.* 5, 468 D = *Il.*<sup>1</sup> 8, 162 and *Il.*<sup>2</sup> 12, 311:

Plat. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔν τε θυσίαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις πᾶσι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἀγαθοὶ φαίνωνται, καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ οἷς νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν τιμῆσομεν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔδραις τε καὶ κρέασιν ἰδὲ πλείους δεπάεσσιν,

Hom. ἔδρη τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείους δεπάεσσι.

Since these words of Plato are not metrical, we must consider that he is giving the substance of the passage and not quoting, for we find here in Plato changes, additions and subtractions, as compared with the original Homer.

6. *Hipp. Min.* 370 B = *Il.* 9, 357–363:

Plat.<sup>3</sup> αὔριον ἰρὰ Διὶ ῥέξας, φησί, καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,  
νηήσας εὖ νῆας, ἐπὴν ἄλαδε προερεύσσω,  
ᾧψαι, αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα καὶ αἶ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,  
ἥρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας  
νῆας ἐμάς, ἐν δ' ἄνδρας ἐρεσσέμεναι μεμαῶτας.  
εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοῖην δώῃ κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος,  
ἡματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἰκοίμην.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> αὔριον ἰρὰ Διὶ ῥέξας καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσι,  
νηήσας εὖ νῆας, ἐπὴν ἄλα δὲ προερεύσσω,  
ᾧψαι, ἥ ν' ἐθέλῃσθα καὶ αἶ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,  
ἥρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας  
νῆας ἐμάς, ἐν δ' ἄνδρας ἐρεσσέμεναι μεμαῶτας.  
εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοῖην δώῃ κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος,  
ἡματί κε τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἰκοίμην.

It would seem as if either Plato had in his Homer αἶ κ', or some scribe changed ἥ ν' to αἶ κ' to make it correspond to the αἶ κέν of the last part of the verse.

7. *Alcibiad.* II. 140 A = *Il.* 10, 224:

Plat. σύν τε δύο σκεπτομένῳ

Hom.<sup>5</sup> σύν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένῳ, καὶ τε πρὸ δ' τοῦ ἐνόησεν,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. G, τ' ἥδδ. <sup>2</sup> Cod. G, τε ἥδδ. <sup>3</sup> Cod. S, ἥ ν' (for αἶ κ', verse 359).

<sup>4</sup> Cod. G, ἰρὰς; L, αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα; L Cant, μεμήλει; Vrat b, μεμήλοι; S, μεμήλη; G, ἐλλήσποντον; E, εἰ περ (for εἰ δέ κεν); D, Φθίην δ'.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. G, ἐρχομένῳ; L, καὶ τοι.

This verse of Homer is quoted entire in the Protagoras,<sup>1</sup> and the first part of it again in the Convivium.<sup>2</sup> In those two passages Plato gives the reading of our Homeric manuscripts. Here, however, it is clear that he is parodying what was evidently a well-known verse.

8. *Ion* 538 C = *Il.* 11, 639–640 and 11, 630:

Plat.<sup>3</sup> οἶνῳ παραμνείῳ, φησίν, ἐπὶ δ' αἶγειον κνή τυρόν  
κνήσῃσι χαλκείῃ· παρὰ δὲ κρόμυον ποτῶ ὄψον·

Hom.<sup>4</sup> (*Il.* 11, 639 and 640)  
οἶνῳ Παραμνείῳ, ἐπὶ δ' αἶγειον κνή τυρόν  
κνήσῃσι χαλκείῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλυνε,

Hom.<sup>5</sup> (*Il.* 11, 630)  
χάλκειον κάνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμυον, ποτῶ ὄψον,

Here it would seem as if Plato had confused the endings of two verses—630 and 640. But our impression is modified when we read in the Republic<sup>6</sup> these words: τεκμαίρομαι δέ, ὅτι αὐτοῦ οἱ νιείς ἐν Τροίᾳ Εὐρυπύλῳ τετραμμένῳ ἐπ' οἶνον Πράμνειον ἄλφιτα πολλὰ ἐπι-  
πασθέντα καὶ τυρόν ἐπιξυσθέντα. Plato is here evidently referring to this same passage of Homer, and the words ἄλφιτα πολλὰ ἐπι-  
πασθέντα show that he knew that ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλυνε or some similar expression belongs to the Homeric passage. So I think the confusion was made through design and not through ignorance.

9. *Ion* 539 B = *Il.* 12, 200–207:

Plat.<sup>7</sup> ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν,  
αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἐέργων,  
φοινῆεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον,  
ζών, ἔτ' ἀσπαίροντα· καὶ οὐπω λήθεο χάρμης.  
κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δεξιῇ  
ιδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω, ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε χαμᾶζε  
ἀλγήσας ὀδύνῃσι, μέσῳ δ' ἐγκάββαλ' ὁμίλῳ·  
αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας ἔπειτο πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο.

<sup>1</sup> 348 D.      <sup>2</sup> 174 D.      <sup>3</sup> Cod. Vindob. suppl. 7, κνήσῃσι from κνήσῃσι.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. G, κνήσῃσι; H, κνήσῃσι; S, κνήσῃσι.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. D, χάλκειον; G, κάνεον.

<sup>6</sup> 3, 405 D.

<sup>7</sup> The best cod. have ὀπίσω; Vindob. suppl. 7, ἐγκάββαλ' ἔπα; Vindob. suppl. 7, πέτατο.

Hom.<sup>1</sup> ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν,  
 αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἐέργων,  
 φοινέεντα δράκοντα φέρων δυνύχουσι πέλωνον  
 ζῶν, ἔτ' ἀσπαίροντα· καὶ οὐ πῶ λήθετο χάρμης.  
 κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δειρὴν  
 ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε χαμᾶζε  
 ἀλγῆσας ὀδύνῃσι, μέσφ' δ' ἐνὶ κάββαλλ' ὀμίλῳ,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.

With regard to the form in Plato ἐγκάββαλ' we note that it is found in two manuscripts of Homer also. It is doubtful whether ἔπετο is a true ancient variant or a scribe's blunder.

10. *Leg.* 4, 706 E = *Il.* 14, 96-102 :

Plat.<sup>2</sup> ὃς κέλει πολέμοιο συνεσταότος καὶ αὐτῆς  
 νῆας εὐστέλμους ἄλαδ' ἔλκειν, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται ἐλδομένοισι περ ἔμψης,  
 ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ἐπιρρέπη· οὐ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 σχήσουσιν πολέμου νηῶν ἄλαδ' ἐλκομενάων,  
 ἀλλ' ἀποπαπανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης·  
 ἐνθα κε σὴ βουλὴ δηλήσεται, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις.

Hom.<sup>3</sup> ὃς κέλει πολέμοιο συνεσταότος καὶ αὐτῆς  
 νῆας εὐστέλμους ἄλα δ' ἐλκέμεν, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται ἐπικρατέουσιν περ ἔμψης,  
 ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ἐπιρρέπη· οὐ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 σχήσουσιν πόλεμον νηῶν ἄλα δ' ἐλκομενάων,  
 ἀλλ' ἀποπαπανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης.  
 ἐνθά κε σὴ βουλὴ δηλήσεται ὄρχαμε λαῶν.

There are several words in this passage of Plato that need to be noted.

(a) ἔλκειν. This form is one of those Atticisms that are probably due to scribes.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. G, ἀπῆλθε; G omits ἔχοντα and adds τὸ after κατὰ; S, ἐν; H Townl., ἐγκάββαλ'; many cod., κάμβαλ'; G, πέτετο ποτὶ πνοιῆς.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. A, εὐστέλμους.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. C, γένοιτο; S, ἐπεὶ κρατέουσιν; C Barocc., ἐπιρρέπει; Lips, ἐπιρρέπει; E, δι' ἐλκομενάων; H, ἀπαπατέουσιν; many cod., ἀποπατέουσιν; S, ὄρχαμε ἀνδρῶν.



(b) ἐελδομένοισι. This reading is not so pleasant to me as the Homeric ἐπικρατέουσι, for it merely repeats the idea expressed in εὐκτά. Still, it is intelligible, and Plato may have had it in his text of Homer.

(c) πολέμον. This form is undoubtedly a mistake of the copyist, as the sentence demands an accusative as the direct object of σχήσουσιν, and not a genitive of separation, for that is supplied by νηῶν.

(d) οἷ' ἀγορεύεις. This is one of the common verse-endings of Homer. In the Homeric text we have another common ending ὄρχαμε λαῶν. We shall have to ascribe the difference in Plato's text either to Plato or his scribes, unless we may imagine that different rhapsodists may sometimes have used different verse-endings, in case the general sense of the passage was not affected thereby. Then Plato's phrase might represent a real tradition.

11. *Rep.* 8, 545 D = *Il.* 16, 112-113 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> ἡ βούλει, ὥσπερ Ὀμηρος, εὐχόμεθα ταῖς Μούσαις εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν,  
ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον στάσις ἔμπεσε,

Hom.<sup>2</sup> ἔσπετε νῦν μοι μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,  
ὅππως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

Here in Plato, as often in the manuscripts of Homer, we read ὅπως, where the metre demands a long penult.

The introduction of the word στάσις serves to parody this well-known verse of Homer.

12. *Apol.* 28 C = *Il.* 18, 96 :

Plat. αὐτίκα γάρ τοι, φησί, μεθ' Ἐκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος.

Hom. αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἐκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος.

In this passage φησί, which is generally *extra metrum*, has apparently crowded out the regular word ἔπειτα, and has taken its place in the hexameter.

13. *Apol.* 28 D = *Il.* 18, 104 :

Plat.<sup>3</sup> παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν ἄχθος ἀρούρης.

Hom. ἀλλ' ἦμαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης,

<sup>1</sup> Bas 2, ἐνέπεσε.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Lips, ὅπως.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. B, κορωνήσιν (the ι added above νη by a second hand) ; D, κορωνηῖσιν.

Whether here Plato has used, carelessly, an epithet *κορωνίσιν*, in place of the traditional *ἑτώσιον*, or whether he gives us an old Homeric variant, is uncertain.

14. *Conviv.* 195 D = *Il.* 19, 92-93 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> τῆς μένθ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδεὸς  
πίλναται, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦ γε κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράατα βαίνει.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> οὐλομένη· τῇ μὲν θ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδεὶ  
πίλναται, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦ γε κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράατα βαίνει

That Plato really wrote τῆς seems clear from Stobaeus,<sup>3</sup> who, in quoting him, gives the verse as we find it in Plato. That Plato is here preserving an old tradition is seen from a scholion in Ven. A, — οὕτως (i.e. τῇ) Ἀρίσταρχος, ἄλλοι δὲ τῆς μέν θ' ἀπαλοί. This reading — τῆς — has otherwise entirely vanished from the manuscripts of Homer with the exception of one manuscript, in which it is preserved, more perhaps through carelessness than actual tradition. Stobaeus shows us, too, that Plato wrote οὐδεὸς. As both genitive and dative seem admissible here, Plato may well be preserving an old variant in the form οὐδεὸς.

15. *Rep.* 3, 388 C = *Il.* 22, 168-169 :

Plat. ὥστε ὦ πόποι φάναι ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ ἄστυ  
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμαι. ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ·

Hom. ὦ πόποι, ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ τεύχεος  
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμαι· ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ

ἄστυ may be an old variant.

16. *Crat.* 392 E = *Il.* 22, 507 :

Plat. οἷος γάρ σφιν ἔρυτο πόλιν καὶ τείχεα μακρά.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> οἷος γάρ σφιν ἔρυσο πύλας καὶ τείχεα μακρά.

To adapt the verse to his sentence Plato changed the verb from second person to third, without any violence to the metre. To whom the change of πύλας to πόλιν is due is uncertain. The words are so similar that one might have been substituted for the other at almost any time.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. T, *πίλναται* (from *πίδναται*) ; B, *πηδναται*.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. S, *τῆς* ; G, *βαίνοι*.

<sup>3</sup> *Floril.* 63, 36.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. D, *γάρ μιν*.

17. *Ion* 537 A = *Il.* 23, 335-340 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> Κλινθῆναι δέ, φησί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνξέστω ἐνὶ δίφρῳ  
ἦκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦν· ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον  
κένσαι ὁμοκλήσας, εἰξαί τέ οἱ ἡνία χερσίν.  
ἐν νύσση δέ τοι ἵππος ἀριστερὸς ἐγχιρμιφθήτω,  
ὥς ἂν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι  
κύκλου ποιητοῖο· λίθου δ' ἀλέασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐνπλέκτω ἐνὶ δίφρῳ  
ἦκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦν· ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον  
κένσαι ὁμοκλήσας, εἰξαί τέ οἱ ἡνία χερσίν.  
ἐν νύσση δέ τοι ἵππος ἀριστερὸς ἐγχιρμιφθήτω,  
ὥς ἂν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι  
κύκλου ποιητοῖο· λίθου δ' ἀλέασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν,

It is uncertain whether the difference in the order of the first few words in Plato is due to him or not. For ἐνξέστω, however, we have a twofold testimony. In the first place it is given by one of the manuscripts of Homer. Besides, Xenophon<sup>3</sup>—though giving a different case of the word and adapting the sentence to the construction of his own—gives this quotation :

αὐτὸν δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐνξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου  
ἦκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦν, ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον  
κένσαι ὁμοκλήσαντ' εἰξαί τέ οἱ ἡνία χερσί.

But while he gives some support to ἐνξέστω, he does not offer any for the order of words as given by Plato.

18. *Rep.* 3, 388 A = *Il.* 24, 10-12 :

Plat. Πάλιν δὲ Ὀμήρου τε δεησόμεθα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν μὴ  
ποιεῖν Ἀχιλλέα, θεᾶς παῖδα,  
ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρᾷς κατακείμενον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε  
ὑπτιον. ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηγῇ, τοτὲ δ' ὀρθὸν ἀναστάντα  
πλωίζοντ' ἀλύοντ' ἐπὶ θῖν' ἄλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. S, ἐνπλέκτω; Vindob. suppl. 7, μῆ.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. D, ἐνξέστωι ἐμ; D, νύσση; many cod., ἐγχιρμιφθήτω; L Lips, πλήμνη; E, διόσσεται.

<sup>3</sup> *Convin.* 4, 6.

Hom.<sup>1</sup> ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρὰς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε  
ὑπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηγής· τοτὲ δ' ὀρθὸς ἀναστὰς  
δινεύεσκ' ἀλύων παρὰ θιν' ἄλός. οὐδέ μιν ἤως

Since Plato is adapting these verses to the structure of his own sentences, he uses the accusatives κατακείμενον, ὑπτιον, πρηγῇ, ὀρθόν, ἀναστάντα and ἀλύοντ' in place of the corresponding nominatives. With the exception of ἀναστάντα, however, they do not violate the metre.

If πλωίζοντ' in the manuscripts of Plato is what he really wrote, either he had πλωίζεσκ' in his Homeric text, or else he introduced it for a parody. If the reading is corrupt, the suggestion of Heyne<sup>2</sup> is a good one. He thinks that Plato does not offer a new reading, but is merely interpreting the verse of Homer, and that he wrote πρωίζοντ', which included the idea suggested in the last words of the verse, οὐδέ μιν ἤως. A scribe to whom the verb πρωίζω was unknown might easily have changed it to πλωίζω, a verb that does occur a few times.

The word ἀτρυνέτοιο may have been added by Plato, to complete the verse metrically.

19. *Ion* 538 D = *Il.* 24, 80-82 :

Plat.<sup>3</sup> ἧ δὲ μολυβδαίνῃ ἰκέλῃ ἐς βυσσὸν ἵκανεν,  
ἧ τε κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέρας ἐμμεμανῖα  
ἔρχεται ὠμηστῆσι μετ' ἰχθύσι πῆμα φέρουσα.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> ἧ δὲ μολυβδαίνῃ ἰκέλῃ ἐς βυσσὸν ὄρουσεν,  
ἧ τε κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέρας ἐμβεβαυῖα  
ἔρχεται ὠμηστῆσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι κῆρα φέρουσα.

(a) ἵκανεν. Though this is a weaker word than ὄρουσεν, it may, for all that, have stood in Plato's Homer.

(b) ἐμμεμανῖα. This is a form that might easily have been changed by a scribe from ἐμβεβαυῖα; but we find that it was really

<sup>1</sup> Cod. D (verse 11) omits δὲ; Syr (verse 11), δῆ; Vrat d, δ' αἶ; S, δινεύασκ'.

<sup>2</sup> *Variae Lectiones et Observationes in Iliadem*, vol. viii., p. 585.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Vindob. suppl. 7, πυθμέν' (for βυσσόν); t, πυθμέν' (in margin); S, κῆρα (for πῆμα).

<sup>4</sup> Many cod., βυθόν; S, βηθόν; D, ἐμμεμανῖα; G, ἐμβεβαυῖας.

recognized as a distinct reading. For it is so given in one manuscript of Homer and is referred to in a scholion of Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐμμεμανῖα.

(c) πῆμα. This word, too, though it is considerably different in form from κῆρα and is not found in the manuscripts of Homer, is a real ancient variant. Proof of this fact is accidentally preserved for us by a scholion in Ven. A, — ἔναι τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπ' ἰχθύσι πῆμα φέρονσα· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐπ' ἰχθύων κῆρα λέγειν. If it were not for this one scholion, we should be obliged to say of this reading, as of others, that it may represent a real variant, or it may be due to Plato's carelessness.

20. *Rep.* 2, 379 C = *Il.* 24, 527-532 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> Οὐκ ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀποδεκτέον οὔτε 'Ομήρου οὔτ' ἄλλου ποιητοῦ ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνοήτως ἁμαρτάνοντος καὶ λέγοντος, ὥς δοιοὶ πίθοι κατακεῖνται ἐν Διὸς οὔδῃ κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν· καὶ ᾧ μὲν ἂν μίξας ὁ Ζεὺς δῶ ἄμφοτέρων, ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῷ ὃ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ· ᾧ δ' ἂν μή, ἀλλ' ἄκρατα τὰ ἕτερα, τὸν δὲ κακῇ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει·

Hom.<sup>2</sup> 527 δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακεῖνται ἐν Διὸς οὔδῃ  
528 δῶρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων.  
529 ᾧ μὲν κ' ἁμμίξας δῶν Ζεὺς τερπικέρανος,  
530 ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῷ ὃ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ·  
531 ᾧ δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δῶν, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε·  
532 καὶ ἐ κακῇ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει,

We feel pretty sure that Plato's text has been transmitted to us correctly, for Eusebius,<sup>3</sup> in quoting the passage ὥς δοιοὶ . . . διὰν ἐλαύνει from Plato, gives the same manuscript readings, except ἄμφοτέρων δῶ (for δῶ ἄμφοτέρων) and γε (for τε, verse 530). This might

<sup>1</sup> Many cod., καμμίξας; a few cod., ἁμμίξας or ἀναμίξας.

<sup>2</sup> A papyrus fragment, κατακεισθε; cod. L, δ' (verse 528); cod. Townl. omits verse 528; L, κ' ἁμώξας; papyrus, ἀμμειξας; D (verse 531), δοίη; G Flor, βούβρωσις.

<sup>3</sup> *Præp. Ev.* 13, 3 (p. 643).

appear to be one of the cases where Plato is quoting from memory. For as part of the passage is metrical and part is in Plato's own words, it looks as if he knew the exact words of only a part of the Homeric passage. If we admit this view, we must maintain that in verse 528, which appears so different in Plato, he thought he was quoting exactly. Then either this verse represents real old variants, or else Plato was greatly mistaken in what he thought he knew.

21. *Rep.* 4, 424 B = *Od.* 1, 352 :

Plat. ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα φυλάττειν, φοβουμένους, ὅταν τις  
λέγῃ, ὡς τὴν αἰοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπιφρονέουσιν ἄνθρωποι,  
ἥ τις ἀειδόντεσσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται,

Hom.<sup>1</sup> ἥ τις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται.

In substituting ἀειδόντεσσι for ἀκουόντεσσι, Plato is evidently parodying the verse somewhat.

22. *Conviv.* 220 C = *Od.* 4, 242 :

Plat.<sup>2</sup> οἶον δ' αὖ τόδ' ἔρεξε καὶ ἔτλη καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ

Hom. ἀλλ' οἶον τόδ' ἔρεξε καὶ ἔτλη καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ

23. *Rep.* 3, 390 A = *Od.* 9, 8-10 :

Plat. παραπλεῖται ὥσι τράπεζαι  
σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων  
οἰνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγχεῖν δεπάεσσι,

Hom.<sup>3</sup> ἤμενοι ἐξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι  
σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων  
οἰνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγχεῖν δεπάεσσι.

The word παραπλεῖται, if not a real ἀπαξ as I suspect it is, is surely very uncommon and would not come from a copyist, except by a most egregious blunder; nor would it result from 'lapse of memory,' it seems to me. It is more likely that the word was in Plato's Homer.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. E, ἥ κεν.

<sup>2</sup> All cod. have αὐτὸ; B, ἔρρεξε (with the ρρ where an erasure has been made).

<sup>3</sup> Cod. PS, πλήθουσι; AMV, δὲ (for δ' ἐκ).

24. *Meno* 100 A = *Od.* 10, 495 :

Plat.<sup>1</sup> οἷον ἔφη Ὅμηρος ἐν τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν τὸν Τειρεσίαν εἶναι,  
λέγων περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οἷος πέπνυται τῶν ἐν ᾧ Αἰδου,  
τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσιν.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> οἷω πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσιν.

In codex L of Homer, just as in the manuscripts of Plato, a scribe, thinking that τοὶ should agree with σκιαὶ, has changed it to the feminine form. In the manuscripts of Plato the scribe has gone one step farther and given the Attic form αἱ.

25. *Rep.* 3, 386 D = *Od.* 10, 495 :

Plat.<sup>3</sup> οἷω πεπνῦσθαι, ταὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσι·

Hom.<sup>4</sup> οἷω πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσιν.

Here, again, in Plato we have a change similar to that in the preceding passage, but the scribe has changed merely the gender, and has not given the Attic form.

26. *Axiach.* 368 A = *Od.* 15, 245-246 :

Plat. τὸν δ' Ἀμφίαραον τί φησιν;  
τὸν πέρι κῆρι φίλει Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων  
παντοίῃ φιλότῃτ'· οὐδ' ἔκετο γήραος οὐδόν.

Hom.<sup>5</sup> ὃν περὶ κῆρι φίλει Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων  
παντοίην φιλότῃτ'· οὐδ' ἔκετο γήραος οὐδόν,

In Homer the relative ὃν has its antecedent in the preceding verse. Plato may well have preferred to make his sentence more complete by writing τόν.

Plato may have had παντοίῃ in his Homeric text, but a simple explanation of the form would be that a scribe, supposing that φιλότῃτ' was in the dative case, changed παντοίην to παντοίῃ.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schanz, in spite of αἱ in the best codices, has followed Cobet in editing τοὶ.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. L, ταὶ; D, τῶ.

<sup>3</sup> A few cod., τοὶ.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. L, ταὶ; D, τῶ.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. N, τὸν; D, ζεὺς (for Ζεὺς τ'); L, καὶ ἀθήνη: γρ. καὶ ἀπόλλων.

<sup>6</sup> The best codices of Stobaeus, who (*Floril.* 98, 75) quotes this passage from Plato, give the verses just as we have them in Homer.

27. *Ion* 539 A = *Od.* 20, 351-357:

Plat.<sup>1</sup> δαιμόνιοι, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων  
εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γυῖα,  
οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηκε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί·  
εἰδῶλων τε πλέον πρόθυρον, πλείη δὲ καὶ αὐλή  
ἰεμένων ἔρεβοςδε ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἥελιος δὲ  
οὐρανὸν ἐξαπόλωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλὺς·

Hom.<sup>2</sup> αἰ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων  
εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γούνα.  
οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηκε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί,  
αἷματι δ' ἐρράδαται τοῖχοι καλά τε μεσόδμαι·  
εἰδῶλων δὲ πλέον πρόθυρον, πλείη δὲ καὶ αὐλή,  
ἰεμένων Ἑρεβος δὲ ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἥελιος δὲ  
οὐρανὸν ἐξαπόλωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλὺς.

The expression αἰ δειλοί is so common in Homer that it must have been well known to Plato. δαιμόνιοι, too, though generally found in the singular, occurs in *Odyssey* 4, 774 in the plural. It is possible that it was a variant here in *Odyssey* 20, 351, though it may be a mistake of Plato's.

γυῖα is a good Homeric word and may be a variant for this verse.

On the omission by Plato of verse 354 I shall speak in the next section.

The variants τε and δέ need no comment, for these words are often confused in manuscripts.

#### H. OMISSIONS IN PLATO.

There are four passages in which Plato in quoting from Homer has omitted a verse. These are: *Hippias Minor* 365 A<sup>3</sup> = *Iliad* 9, 308-314; *Republic* 2, 364 D<sup>4</sup> = *Iliad* 9, 497-501; *Republic* 2, 363 B<sup>5</sup> = *Odyssey* 19, 109-113; *Ion* 539 A<sup>6</sup> = *Odyssey* 20, 351-357.

These verses are, in a way, similar. For no one of them is necessary to the general sense of the passage in which it stands. The

<sup>1</sup> Cod. W, ὑμῶν; best codices, δέδηκε.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. D, αἰ δειλοί; KS, ἐρέδαται; CDKQS, πλέον; A, ἐπιδέδρομεν.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 311 is omitted.

<sup>5</sup> Verse 110 is omitted.

<sup>4</sup> Verse 498 is omitted.

<sup>6</sup> Verse 354 is omitted.



explanation of the omission is not at all certain. Plato may not have had these verses in his text; for we remember that in the Flinders Petrie fragment one verse, and possibly two, known in our manuscripts of Homer, are omitted. Or Plato may have omitted the verses either purposely or accidentally. Or the omission of them may be due to scribes; for we notice that in the manuscripts of Homer, too, single verses are occasionally omitted by scribes.

#### I. ONE SPECIAL PASSAGE.

There is one passage in Plato that from its uniqueness demands attention. It is in Alcibiades II.<sup>1</sup> It purports to be from Homer, and contains in indirect quotation the substance of five verses, only one of which is found in our Homeric manuscripts. The passage in Plato, most of which is metrical, is as follows: *φησὶν γὰρ τοὺς Τρῶας ἔπαυλιν ποιουμένους*

*ἔρδειν ἀθανάτοισι τελέεσσας ἑκατόμβας·  
τὴν δὲ κνῖσαν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου τοὺς ἀνέμους φέρειν οὐρανὸν εἴσω  
ἡδέϊαν· τῆς δ' οὐ τι θεοὺς μάκαρας दाτέεσθαι,  
οὐδ' ἔθέλειν· μάλα γάρ σφιν ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρή  
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο·*

The passage has been thus restored in the Iliad:

Hom.<sup>2</sup> *II.* 8, 548-552

[*ἔρδον δ' ἀθανάτοισι τελέεσσας ἑκατόμβας.]  
κνίσσῃν δ' ἐκ πεδίου ἄνεμοι φέρον οὐρανὸν εἴσω  
[ἡδέϊαν· τῆς δ' οὐ τι θεοὶ μάκαρες दाτέοντο,  
οὐδ' ἔθελον· μάλα γάρ σφιν ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρή  
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο].*

As the Alcibiades II. belongs to the list of works that are probably spurious, we should not attribute much weight to this passage as one of Plato's. But, as the work is probably of high antiquity, even if Plato did not write it, the passage will serve to illustrate once more the fact that there are old variants of Homer, and even whole verses, preserved for us by ancient authors alone.

<sup>1</sup> 149 D.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. CD (second hand) EGH<sup>L</sup>, *κνίσσῃν*.

CONCLUSION WITH REGARD TO PLATO'S QUOTATIONS.

As this completes the list of passages in which Plato quotes from Homer, it may be well to emphasize the lesson of these quotations. Some scholars have thought that the differences between the readings of our Homeric manuscripts and those of Plato are best and most easily explained by assuming that Plato quoted from memory, and that his memory was very faulty. Whether, in general, Plato quoted from memory or not, is still a doubtful point. I am willing to admit that that supposition offers the best explanation of some few passages. If sometimes he quoted from memory and sometimes looked up the passage, we have no means of ascertaining which quotations are the result of one method and which are the result of the other. For if I have not shown that *apparent mistakes* cannot be taken as the test of that question, my paper has been in vain. Besides, as I have already stated, there is nothing at all inconsistent in quotation from memory and correctness. Let me say, as a kind of summary, that in general these are the reasons that influence me to believe that, whether he quotes from memory or not, Plato's quotations are to be weighed very carefully, and not rejected merely because at variance with traditional readings. (1) Very many verses as quoted by him agree with our traditional text. (2) Many verses evidently owe their variants to careless copyists, who, in many instances, have changed the epic to the Attic form. That Plato is not responsible for these Atticisms is often shown by other passages, in which the same verses are given just as our Homeric manuscripts have them. (3) Some variants are supported either by Homeric manuscripts, or by scholia, or by ancient authors. Of scholia and authors we know that only a small percentage have come down to us. If more were extant, we should undoubtedly receive confirmation for still more of these variants of Plato. (4) Papyrus fragments in general, and the Flinders Petrie fragment in particular, show that ancient manuscripts had many readings far different from those that have come down to us from other sources. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find that Plato, or any other ancient author, presents us with many variant readings. In fact, we *should be* properly surprised if they did *not* show these variants. We might then

reasonably suspect that the readings they gave had been tampered with, to adapt them to our later tradition. Therefore I feel convinced, that to the existence of Plato's manuscripts we are indebted for a great many ancient Homeric readings that otherwise would have been lost to us.

*Aristotle's Quotations from Homer.*

Let me pass on at once to the Homeric passages quoted by Aristotle.

A. NO VARIANTS.

First I shall list those passages in which the manuscripts of Aristotle — so far as collated by Bekker — show an entire agreement with those of Homer, with no variants for either author. There are twenty-eight of these passages.

1 (and 2). *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 a 15) and *Poet.* 19 (p. 1456 b 16) = *Il.* 1, 1:

μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά,

3. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 10) = *Il.* 1, 50:

οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον·

4. *De Mundo* 6 (p. 397 b 26) = *Il.* 1, 499 and *Il.* 5, 754:

ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ

5. *Pol.* 1, 12 (p. 1259 b 13) = *Il.* 1, 544 and often:

πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

6. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 16) = *Il.* 2, 1-2:

ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοί τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι

εὖδον παννύχιοι·

Here, as often, Aristotle omits part of a verse.

7. *Eth. Nic.* 8, 13 (p. 1161 a 14) = *Il.* 2, 243 and often:

Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν

8. *Poet.* 21 (p. 1457 b 11) = *Il.* 2, 272:

ἦ δὲ μυρὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργεν·

9. *Rhet.* 1, 6 (p. 1363 a 6) = *Il.* 2, 298:

αἰσχρὸν τοι δηρὸν τε μένειν·

10. *Pol.* 3, 16 (p. 1287 b 14) = *Il.* 2, 372 :  
τοιούτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες.
11. *Frag.* 143 (p. 1502 b 8) = *Il.* 3, 298-300 :  
Ζεῦ κῦδιστε μέγιστε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,  
ὀππότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια πημήνευαν,  
ὦδὲ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι ὥς ὃδε οἶνος.
12. *Probl.* 9, 9 (p. 890 b 9) = *Il.* 5, 75 :  
ψυχρὸν δ' ἔλε χαλκὸν ὁδοῦσιν,
13. *Poet.* 21 (p. 1458 a 7) = *Il.* 5, 393 :  
δεξιτερὸν κατὰ μαζόν
14. *Eth. Nic.* 5, 11 (p. 1136 b 10) = *Il.* 6, 236 :  
χρύσεια χαλκείων, ἐκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίω,
- The first two words are given thus by Plato<sup>1</sup> also.
15. *Frag.* 151 (p. 1503 b 26) = *Il.* 7, 111-112 :  
μηδ' ἔθει' ἐξ ἔριδος σεῦ ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχεσθαι  
Ἔκτορι
16. *Hist. An.* 6, 21 (p. 575 b 5) = *Il.* 7, 315 and *Od.*<sup>2</sup> 19, 420 :  
ἄρσενα πενταέτηρον
17. *Frag.* 108 (p. 1495 b 10) = *Il.* 9, 175 and often :  
κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο
18. *Pol.* 2, 7 (p. 1267 a 1) = *Il.* 9, 319 :  
ἐν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ ἡμὲν κακὸς ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός.
19. *Rhet.* 3, 11 (p. 1411 b 35) = *Il.* 11, 574 :  
ἐν γαίῃ ἴσταντο λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἄσαι,
20. *Eth. Nic.* 7, 7 (p. 1149 b 16) = *Il.* 14, 214 :  
κεστὸν ἱμάντα
21. *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1395 a 15) = *Il.* 18, 309 :  
ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος,

<sup>1</sup> *Conviv.* 219 A.

<sup>2</sup> In the passage in the *Odyssey* we find a variant : cod. A, πλόνα γρ. ἄρσενα.

22. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 28) = *Il.* 21, 592 :

κνημὶς νεοτεύκτου κασσιτέριοιο,

23. *Poet.*<sup>1</sup> 25 (p. 1461 a 23) = *Il.* 23, 328 :

τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπίθεται ὄμβρῳ.

24. *Soph. Elench.*<sup>2</sup> 4 (p. 166 b 4) = *Il.* 23, 328 :

τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπίθεται ὄμβρῳ.

A point of discussion among the ancients was whether in this passage of the Iliad ου was οὐ, 'where,' or οὐ, 'not.' Into this discussion I cannot go.

25. *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 a 16) = *Od.* 1, 1 :

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε μούσα,

26. *Frag.* 165 (p. 1505 b 25) = *Od.* 6, 6 :

οἳ σφῆας σινέσκοντο.

27. *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 b 26) = *Od.* 6, 327 :

δός μ' ἐς Φαίηκας φίλον ἑλθεῖν ἦδ' ἐλεεινόν,

28. *De Anima* 3, 3 (p. 427 a 26) = *Od.* 18, 136 :

τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστίν.

#### B. SLIGHT VARIANTS.

There are thirty-nine passages in which the variants of the manuscripts of both Aristotle and Homer are few and slight, and undoubtedly due to the carelessness of scribes.

1. *Rhet.* 2, 2 (p. 1379 a 5) = *Il.* 1, 82 :

Ar.<sup>3</sup> ἀλλά γε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα τελέσῃ,

2. *Rhet.*<sup>5</sup> 1, 6 (p. 1362 b 35) = *Il.*<sup>6</sup> 1, 255 :

ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. AcBc, οὐ.

<sup>2</sup> So edited by Bekker, although all the codices of Aristotle and of Homer have οὐ.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. YbZbAc, τε; Q, ὄφρα τελέσση (after κότον).

<sup>4</sup> Several cod., γε; S, ἀλλ' ἀγε.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. Yb, γηθήση.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. C, γηθήσαι; H, γηθήσαι.

3. *Rhet.*<sup>1</sup> 2, 2 (p. 1378 b 32) = *Il.* 1, 356:  
 ἡτίμησεν· ἔλων γὰρ ἔχει γέρας αὐτὸς ἀπούρας
4. *Metaphys.*<sup>2</sup> 11, 10 (p. 1076 a 4) = *Il.* 2, 204:  
 οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω.
5. *Frag.*<sup>3</sup> 143 (p. 1502 b 16) = *Il.*<sup>4</sup> 4, 65-67:  
 ἐλθεῖν εἰς Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπιν αἰνήν,  
 πειρᾶν δ' ὥς κεν Τρῶες ὑπερκύδαντας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ἄρξωσι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια δηλήσασθαι.
6. *Rhet.*<sup>5</sup> 3, 11 (p. 1411 b 35) = *Il.* 4, 126:  
 ἐπιπέσθαι μενεαίνων,
7. *Frag.* 13 (p. 1476 a 17) = *Il.*<sup>6</sup> 4, 297-298:  
 ἱππῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν,  
 πεζοὺς δ' ἐξόπιθεν,
8. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 a 25) = *Il.* 8, 148-149:  
 Ar.<sup>7</sup> Ἐκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσκει ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων,  
 Τυδείδης ὑπ' ἐμείοι.  
 Hom.<sup>8</sup> Ἐκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσκει ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων·  
 Τυδείδης ὑπ' ἐμείοι φοβούμενος ἵκετο νῆας.
9. *Pol.*<sup>9</sup> 1, 2 (p. 1253 a 5) = *Il.* 9, 63:  
 ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος.
10. *Rhet.*<sup>10</sup> 3, 9 (p. 1410 a 29) = *Il.*<sup>11</sup> 9, 526:  
 δωρητοὶ τ' ἐπέλοντο παράρρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσιν·

<sup>1</sup> Cod. A<sup>c</sup> omits ἀπούρας.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. E (also T in the margin) adds ἔστω.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. E, τρώας; B, τρώσιν.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. O, εἰς; L omits δ'.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. QY<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>b</sup>, ἐπιπᾶσθαι.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. Vrat. b, c, Mosc. 1. 3, πρῶτιστα; M, πρῶτον; CGH, ἐξόπισθεν; E, ἐξόπισθε; N, ἐξώπισθεν.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. Mb adds φοβούμενος.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. E, δὴ (for γάρ); D, τρώεσσιν; D, τυδείδης δ'; E, ἐμῶι.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Q, ἀφρήτωρ; S<sup>b</sup>T<sup>b</sup>, ἀφήτωρ.

<sup>10</sup> Cod. A<sup>c</sup>, ἐπέλονται; A<sup>c</sup>, δ' (for the second τ').

<sup>11</sup> Cod. DH, παρρητοί.

11. *Poet.*<sup>1</sup> 25 (p. 1461 a 12) = *Il.* 10, 316:  
ὃς δὴ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἔην κακός,  
12. *Hist. An.*<sup>2</sup> 9, 44 (p. 629 b 22) = *Il.* 11, 554 and *Il.* 17, 663:  
καίόμεναί τε δεταί, τὰς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ,  
13. *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1395 a 13) = *Il.*<sup>3</sup> 12, 243:  
εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης,  
14. *Rhet.* 3, 11 (p. 1411 b 34) = *Il.* 13, 587:  
Ar.<sup>4</sup> ἔπτατ' ὀιστός,  
Hom.<sup>5</sup> θῶρηκος γάalon, ἀπὸ δ' ἔπτατο πικρὸς ὀιστός.

In the passage of the Rhetoric from which these words are taken Aristotle is giving examples of vividness in narration. Naturally, he quotes that part of the phrase that is especially pertinent.

15. *Rhet.*<sup>6</sup> 3, 11 (p. 1412 a 7) = *Il.*<sup>7</sup> 13, 799:  
κυρτά, φαληριώντα· πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα·  
16. *Hist. An.*<sup>8</sup> 9, 12 (p. 615 b 10) = *Il.* 14, 291:  
χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν.  
17. *Rhet.*<sup>9</sup> 3, 11 (p. 1412 a 1) = *Il.* 15, 542:  
αἰχμὴ δὲ στέρνοιο διέσσυτο μαιμώωσα.  
18. *Rhet.*<sup>10</sup> 1, 11 (p. 1370 b 11) = *Il.* 18, 109:  
ὅστε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο·  
19. *Rhet.*<sup>11</sup> 2, 2 (p. 1378 b 5) = *Il.* 18, 109-110:  
ὅστε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο  
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσιν ἀέξεται.  
20. *Poet.*<sup>12</sup> 25 (p. 1461 a 30) = *Il.* 20, 234:  
Διὶ οἰνοχοεῖν,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Ac, ὡς ῥῆτοι; Bc, ὡς ῥά τοι; N<sup>a</sup>, ὡς (with δὴ τοι omitted); Ac, εἰ ἦν.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. D<sup>a</sup>, καιωμένας (with a gap left for the rest of the verse); A<sup>a</sup>, δαίτες; Ca, δάδαι; PE<sup>a</sup>, τρεῖς; A<sup>a</sup>, δαίτας τρεῖς.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. ES, ἀμύνεσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Q, ὀριστός.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. L, διὰ (for ἀπὸ).

<sup>6</sup> Cod. QY<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>b</sup>, πρὸς.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. L, φαληρώωντα.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. PA<sup>a</sup>DaE<sup>a</sup>, κύβινδιν.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Ac, μεμώωσα.

<sup>10</sup> Cod. Y<sup>b</sup>, ὥστε.

<sup>11</sup> Cod. Z<sup>b</sup>, ὥστε; Ac, στήθεσιν.

<sup>12</sup> Cod. Ac, οἰνοχοεῖν.

21. *Rhet.*<sup>1</sup> 1, 11 (p. 1370 b 28) = *Il.*<sup>2</sup> 23, 108 and *Od.* 4, 183:

ὥς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἱμερον ὤρσε γόοιο.

22. *Rhet.*<sup>3</sup> 2, 3 (p. 1380 b 29) = *Il.*<sup>4</sup> 24, 54:

κωφὴν γὰρ δὴ γαῖαν ἀεικίζει μενεαίνων.

23. *Eth. Nic.*<sup>5</sup> 7, 1 (p. 1145 a 21) = *Il.*<sup>6</sup> 24, 258-259:

οὐδὲ ἐώκει

ἀνδρός γε θνητοῦ πάϊς ἔμμεναι ἀλλὰ θεοῖο.

24. *De Mundo*<sup>7</sup> 6 (p. 401 a 4) = *Od.*<sup>8</sup> 5, 64:

κλήθρη τ' αἰγείρος τε καὶ εὐώδης κυπάριστος,

25. *Frag.* 162 (p. 1505 a 26) = *Od.*<sup>9</sup> 5, 93:

κέρασσε δὲ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν

26. *Frag.* 165 (p. 1505 b 20) = *Od.*<sup>10</sup> 6, 4 and 8:

οἳ πρὶν μὲν ποτ' ἔναιον

ἀλφηστῶν.

27. *De Mundo*<sup>11</sup> 6 (p. 401 a 7) = *Od.*<sup>12</sup> 7, 115 and 11,<sup>13</sup> 589:

ὄχνη καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι,

28. *De Mundo* 6 (p. 401 a 1) = *Od.* 7, 116:

Ar.<sup>14</sup> συκαῖ τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι,

Hom.<sup>15</sup> συκέαι τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθάουσαι.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. QZb, ἐφ'.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. E, ἐφ'.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Q, ἀεικίζη; the reading in A<sup>c</sup> is uncertain; cod. Q, μενείων.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. CD omit δὴ; H, βαῖαν; H, μενείων.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. Mb, οὐ γὰρ; LbOb, οὐδὲ γὰρ.

<sup>6</sup> Papyr. (first hand), ουτε, εμμενε; cod. D, θνητοῖο.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. P (recent hand), κλείθρη; O omits τε.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. LQ, κλείθρη.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. ACER, κέρασε.

<sup>10</sup> Cod. DLMP, ἀλφιστῶν; B, ἀμφιστῶν.

<sup>11</sup> Cod. O, ὄγχνη (but it has been corrected).

<sup>12</sup> Cod. S omits this verse.

<sup>13</sup> Though most cod. give ὄχνη in these two passages of the Odyssey, La Roche edits, in both places, ὄχνηαι.

<sup>14</sup> Cod. Q, συκέαι.

<sup>15</sup> Cod. S omits the verse; many cod. have συκαῖ or συκαί; I, τηλεθάουσαι; Schol. B.H.Q. (*Od.* 9, 425), τηλεθάουσαι.



29. *Pol.* 8, 3 (p. 1338 a 29) = *Od.*<sup>1</sup> 9, 7-8 :

δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκονάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ  
ἡμενοὶ ἐξείης.

30. *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252 b 22) = *Od.*<sup>2</sup> 9, 114-115 :

θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος  
παιδων ἧδ' ἀλόχων.

Plato<sup>3</sup> in quoting more fully from the same passage of the *Odyssey*<sup>4</sup> gives the same text. The passage is referred to in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.<sup>5</sup>

31. *Rhet.*<sup>6</sup> 2, 3 (p. 1380 b 23) = *Od.* 9, 504 :

φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πολιπόρθιον,

32. *Hist. An.*<sup>7</sup> 6, 21 (p. 575 b 6) = *Od.*<sup>8</sup> 10, 19 :

βοὸς ἐννεώροιο.

33. *De Mir. Aus.*<sup>9</sup> 105 (p. 839 b 33) = *Od.*<sup>10</sup> 12, 67-68 :

ἀλλὰ θ' ὁμοῦ πίνακας τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν  
κύμαθ' ἄλδος φορέουσι πυρός τ' ὀλοοῖο θύελλαι.

34. *Eth. Nic.*<sup>11</sup> 2, 9 (p. 1109 a 32) = *Od.* 12, 219-220 :

τούτου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἑκτὸς ἔργε  
νῆα.

By mistake Aristotle assigns these verses to Calypso, though they contain the advice of Circe and were uttered to his companion by Odysseus.

35. *Rhet.*<sup>12</sup> 1, 11 (p. 1371 b 16) = *Od.* 17, 218 :

ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον,

36. *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 7) = *Od.*<sup>13</sup> 17, 218 :

ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοιον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοιον.

<sup>1</sup> Many cod., ἀκονάζονται.

<sup>2</sup> Cod K, παίδων τ'.

<sup>3</sup> *Leg.* 3, 680 B.

<sup>4</sup> 9, 112-115.

<sup>5</sup> 10, 10 (p. 1180 a 28).

<sup>11</sup> Cod. MbNb, τὸ τοῦ; LbOb, ὡς τοῦ; Kb omits μὲν.

<sup>12</sup> Cod. YbZb, τὸ; Q, τῷ ὁμοίῳ φίλον τὸ.

<sup>13</sup> Cod. CDKL, ἐς (for the second ὡς); M, ἐς.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. QYbZb, πολιπορθιον.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. P, ἐννεώτεροι.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. L, ἐννεόροιο.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Ba, ἀλλος, θύελλαι.

<sup>10</sup> Cod. QV, θύελλα.

Here the manuscripts of Aristotle agree with those of Homer, and disagree with those of Plato who, in the *Lysis*,<sup>1</sup> quotes the same Homeric verse. In one passage,<sup>2</sup> however, the manuscripts of Aristotle show the same readings as those given in the manuscripts of Plato. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*<sup>3</sup> we find the verse of Homer referred to, but the first part of the verse is not quoted.

37. *Eth. Nic.*<sup>4</sup> 4, 4 (p. 1122 a 27) = *Od.* 17, 420 and 19, 76<sup>6</sup>:

πολλάκι δόσκον ἀλήτη·

38. *Probl.* 10, 36 (p. 894 b 34) = *Od.*<sup>6</sup> 20, 71:

μῆκος δ' ἔπορ' Ἀρτεμις ἀγνή,

39. *Rhet.*<sup>7</sup> 1, 7 (p. 1365 a 30) = *Od.* 22, 347:

αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί.

#### C. AGREEMENT WITH THE BEST MANUSCRIPTS OF HOMER.

Now let me give those passages in which the manuscripts of Aristotle agree with the best manuscripts of Homer, although the existence of variants is indicated, either in the manuscripts or scholia of Homer, or by Eustathius. I have listed twenty of these passages.<sup>8</sup>

1. *Rhet.* 1, 6 (p. 1363 a 5) = *Il.* 2, 160:

καδδὲ κεν εὐχωλὴν Πριάμῳ

Schol. Ven. A, — ἀπὸ τούτου (verse 160) ἕως τοῦ ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλονται (verse 162) ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι τρεῖς.

2. *Frag.* 172 (p. 1506 b 31) = *Il.*<sup>9</sup> 2, 226–228:

πλεῖαί τοι χαλκοῦ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναικες  
εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξάιρετοι, ἄς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ  
πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν.

<sup>1</sup> 214 A.

<sup>2</sup> *Mag. Mor.* 2, 11 (p. 1208 b 10).

<sup>3</sup> 8, 2 (p. 1155 a 34).

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Mb, δώσει.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. S, δὲ πόντ'.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. IK, πολλάκις.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. QYbZb omit δ'.

<sup>8</sup> Where Aristotle has quoted a verse that we learn from the scholia was rejected by some one of the ancient critics, I have considered that he is in agreement with the original Homeric tradition, and that the rejection by the ancients constitutes a variant.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Barocc. Mor., κλισίαις; Cant., κλισίῃ; L., κλισίοισιν.

Schol. Ven. A,—ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει πλεῖται δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐξῆς δύο ἠθέτηκεν.

3. *Frag.* 13 (p. 1476 a 21) = *Il.*<sup>1</sup> 2, 554:

κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

Schol. Ven. A,—ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος ἀπὸ τούτου (verse 553) τρεῖς στίχους ἠθέτηκεν.

4. *Rhet.*<sup>2</sup> 3, 12 (p. 1414 a 2) = *Il.*<sup>3</sup> 2, 671-673:

Νιρέυς αὖ Σύμηθεν, Νιρέυς Ἀγλαίης, Νιρέυς δὲ κάλλιστος.

Schol. Ven. A (verses 673-675),—ἐκ τῶν τριῶν τοὺς δύο ἠθέτηκε Ζηνόδοτος, τὸν δὲ μέσον οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν.

To emphasize the asyndeton in these verses of Homer, Aristotle quotes the first words only of each verse.

5. *Frag.* 144 (p. 1502 b 31) = *Il.* 3, 277:

ἠέλιός θ' ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις

Schol. BQ (*Od.* 12, 374),—ἠέλιος δ' ὅς.

6. *Frag.* 146 (p. 1503 a 9) = *Il.* 3, 454:

ἶσον γάρ σφιν πᾶσιν ἀπήχθετο κῆρι μελαίνῃ.

Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 9, 378),—σφίσι.

7. *Poet.*<sup>4</sup> 25 (p. 1461 a 14) = *Il.*<sup>5</sup> 9, 203:

ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε

Schol. Ven. A,—οὕτως κέραιε χωρὶς τοῦ ῥ. Schol. Townl.,—δίχα τοῦ ῥ Ἀριστοφάνης κέραιε. Eustathius (746, 48),—ιστέον δὲ ὅτι τῶν τινὰ ἀντιγράφων τὸ κέραιε κέραιρε φασίν, and (1397, 64),—ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε ἢ κέραιρε.

8 (and 9). *Rhet.* 2, 2 (p. 1378 b 33) and *Pol.* 3, 5 (p. 1278 a 37) = *Il.* 9, 648 and *Il.* 16, 59:

ὥσεί τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην,

Schol. Ven. B (*Il.* 16, 59),—ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος γράφει μεταναστήν. Schol. Townl. (*Il.* 16, 59),—ἐν τῇ Μα(ς)σαλιωτικῇ καὶ τῇ Ῥιανοῦ μετανάστιν (cod. μετανάστειν).

<sup>1</sup> Cod. L, κοσμήσαι θ'.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. QYbZb, αἰσύμηθεν.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. S, δ' αἰσύμηθεν; L, αὖ ἐσύμηθεν.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Bc, κεραιε; N<sup>a</sup>, κεραιε.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. CD (by correction) HS, κέραιρε.

10. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 2) = *Il.* 10, 152-153:

ῥοθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος.  
ἔγχεα δέ σφιν

Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους σαυρωτῆρας πληθυντικῶς.

11 (and 12). *Pol.*<sup>1</sup> 3, 16 (p. 1287 b 14) and *Eth. Nic.* 8, 1 (p. 1155 a 15) = *Il.*<sup>2</sup> 10, 224:

σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω

Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 3, 211), — σὺν δέ. Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 10, 224), — συνερχόμενοι δύο ἀντὶ τοῦ συνερχομένων. ἔτιοι δὲ μὴ νοήσαντες τὸ ὦ προστιθέασι, κακῶς.

Plato, as we have observed, both quotes<sup>3</sup> and parodies<sup>4</sup> this verse.

13. *Hist. An.*<sup>5</sup> 3, 3 (p. 513 b 27) = *Il.* 13, 546-547:

ἀπὸ δὲ φλέβα πᾶσαν ἔκερσεν,  
ἧ τ' ἀνὰ νῶτα θέουσα διαμπερὲς αἰχρὴν ἱκάνει.

Schol. Ven. A, — Ζηνόδοτος διὰ δὲ φλέβα. Schol. Townl., — Ζηνόδοτος διὰ δέ.

14. *De Mundo* 6 (p. 400 a 19) = *Il.*<sup>6</sup> 15, 192:

Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν.

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος αἰπύν. Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 16, 365), — : ἐφέεσσιν.

15. *Poet.*<sup>7</sup> 25 (p. 1461 a 20) = *Il.* 18, 489 and *Od.* 5, 275:

οἷη δ' ἄμμορος

Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 18, 483), — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος ἡθέτηκεν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ στίχου τὰ λοιπά.

16 (17 and 18). *Mag. Mor.* 1, 20 (p. 1191 a 8), *Eth. Eud.*<sup>8</sup> 3, 1 (p. 1230 a 20) and *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11<sup>9</sup> (p. 1116 a 23) = *Il.*<sup>10</sup> 22, 100:

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Tb, τι.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. G, συνερχομένῳ.

<sup>3</sup> *Protag.* 348 D and *Conviv.* 174 D.

<sup>4</sup> *Alcibiad.* II. 140 A.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. PDa, ἧ διὰ (for ἧ τ' ἀνὰ); P, διαμπαρὲς; PDa, ἱκανεν.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. L, δ' ἔλαχεν; G omits ἐν.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. Na, ἀν μόνος.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. Pb, πολυδάμας.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. Lb, πολυδάμας; Mb, πρῶτον; Kb, ἀναθήσει; Mb, ἐπιθήσει.

<sup>10</sup> Cod. E, πολυδάμας; C omits μοι; E, πρῶτος ἢ πρῶτον.

Eustath.,—(1260, 45) ἀναθήσει; (1260, 50) καταχέυει; (1260, 26) καταχέυει, ἢ ἀναθήσει.

19. *Poet.* 21 (p. 1457 b 10) = *Od.*<sup>1</sup> 1, 185:

νηὺς δέ μοι ἦδ' ἔστηκε·

Schol. HMQR,—προηθετοῦντο δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους· κατ' ἔνια δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐδ' ἐφέροντο.

20. *Rhet.*<sup>2</sup> 3, 16 (p. 1417 b 5) = *Od.*<sup>3</sup> 19, 361:

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, γρηὺς δὲ κατέσχετο χερσὶ πρόσωπα·

#### D. QUOTATIONS WOVEN INTO THE TEXT.

There are a few passages in which it was evidently Aristotle's intention to adapt the words of Homer to the structure of his own sentence. I shall give those instances in which such passages either show the same readings that our Homeric manuscripts offer, or, at any rate, are not inconsistent with these readings.

1. *Frag.* 157 (p. 1504 b 18) refers to *Il.* 1, 527:

Ar. ὁ δὲ ποιητής φησιν ἀληθεύειν

ὃ τι κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσῃ.

Hom. οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, ὅτι κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω.

2. *Pol.* 4, 4 (p. 1292 a 13) refers to *Il.* 2, 204:

Ar. Ὅμηρος δὲ ποίαν λέγει οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πολυκοιρανίην,

Hom. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω,

This verse of Homer is quoted exactly by Aristotle elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

3. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 13 (p. 1118 a 22) refers to *Il.* 3, 24:

Ar. ὁμοίως δ' οὐδ' ἰδὼν ἢ εὐρὼν ἔλαφον ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα, ἀλλ' ὅτι βορὰν ἔξει.

Hom. εὐρὼν ἢ ἔλαφον κεραὸν ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα,

4. *Rhet.* 3, 4 (p. 1406 b 20) refers to *Il.* 10, 485-486:

Ar. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν μεταφορά· διαφέρει γὰρ μικρόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἴπῃ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα

ὥς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν,

εἰκὼν ἐστίν,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. D, ναὺς.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Q, κατείχετο.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. DL, καλὰ (for χερσὶ).

<sup>4</sup> *Metaphys.* 11, 10 (p. 1076 a 4); cf. above, p. 213.

Hom.<sup>1</sup> ὥς δὲ λέων μῆλοισιν ἀσημάντοιςιν ἐπελθών,  
αἴγειςιν ἢ οἴεσσι, κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούσῃ,

If this Homeric passage is the one referred to by Aristotle, there are several difficulties in his statement. In the first place, Homer is speaking of Diomedes, and not of Achilles as Aristotle says. This misstatement of Aristotle may be merely a slip on his part. Besides, the verb in the passage of Homer is ἐνορούω, whereas Aristotle has ἐπορούω. The difference between the form of the two verbs, however, is slight, and a scribe might easily have changed one to the other.<sup>2</sup> Still, there may have been such a verse about Achilles somewhere in Aristotle's Homer, and he may be quoting it correctly.

5. *Pol.* I, 4 (p. 1253 b 35) refers to *Il.*<sup>3</sup> 18, 376 :

Ar. ὥσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου φασὶν ἢ τοὺς τοῦ Ἥφαιστου τρίποδας,  
οὓς φησιν ὁ ποιητῆς  
αὐτομάτους θεῖον δύεσθαι ἀγῶνα,

Hom. ὄφρα οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσαίαιτ' ἀγῶνα,

Eustath. (1148, 8),—δυσαίαιτ' ἀγῶνα, ἢ δύσονται ἀγῶνα. Schol. Ven. A,—ἐν ἄλλῃ δύσονται ἀγῶνα. ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιστέραις κατὰ δῶμα νεοίατο. Schol. Townl.,—ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιστέραις θεῖον κατὰ δῶμα νέοιντο. Though we cannot feel certain as to which reading, *δυσαίαιτ'*, *δύσονται* or *δύσωνται*, Aristotle had in his Homer, still we know he did not have the variant *κατὰ δῶμα νέοιντο*, which is cited by the scholiasts.

6. *Eth. Nic.* 10, 10 (p. 1180 a 27) refers to *Od.* 9, 114 :

Ar.<sup>4</sup> καὶ ξῆ ἕκαστος ὥς βούλεται, κυκλωπικῶς θεμιστεύων  
παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων.

Hom.<sup>5</sup> θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος  
παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων,

Either Aristotle purposely wrote ἀλόχων for ἀλόχων, or else some copyist made the change. For in another passage<sup>6</sup> Aristotle in quoting a part of these verses has left us ἀλόχων in his text.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. G, Vrat. A, Mosc. 3, ἐνορούσοι; CL, ἐνορούσει.

<sup>2</sup> I might note an example of the confusion of these two verbs in *Il.* 11, 747.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. S, αὐτόμαται; Townl., δυσείαιτ'; many cod. have δύσονται; L Lips., δύσωνται.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Mb omits ἕκαστος. <sup>5</sup> Cod. K, παίδων τ'. <sup>6</sup> *Pol.* I, 2 (p. 1252 b 23).

7. *Eth. Nic.* 8, 2 (p. 1155 a 32) refers to *Od.* 17, 218 :

Ar. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιότητά τινα τιθέασιν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους  
φίλους, ὅθεν

τὸν ὁμοιόν φασιν ὡς τὸν ὁμοιον,

Hom.<sup>1</sup> ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἀγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

This verse, either in whole or in part, is elsewhere quoted three times by Aristotle.<sup>2</sup>

8. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 b 26) refers to *Od.* 24, 318–319 :

Ar. ἱγητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅθεν καὶ  
"Ομηρος

δριμὺν δ' ἀνὰ ῥίνας μένος

Hom.<sup>3</sup> τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμός, ἀνὰ ῥίνας δέ οἱ ἦδη

δριμὺν μένος προὔτυψε φίλον πατέρ' εἰσορόωντι.

These words belonging to different verses Aristotle has brought together—in a reference rather, than a quotation—to illustrate bravery or spirit. By the introduction of δ' the fragment has been made metrical, so far as it goes.

#### E. ARISTOTLE'S VARIANTS SUBSTANTIATED.

Of those passages in which Aristotle gives a reading different from the accepted one of Homer, there are many cases where Aristotle's reading is substantiated either by manuscripts of Homer, by scholia, by Eustathius or by ancient authors.

1. *Rhet.* 2, 2 (p. 1379 a 4) = *Il.*<sup>4</sup> 2, 196 :

θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέων βασιλῶν

Schol. Ven. A,—ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει διοτρεφέων βασιλῶν.  
οὕτως ἐνικῶς αἱ Ἀριστάρχου. εἶχον δὲ καὶ αἱ χαριέσταται οὕτως, ἀνευ

<sup>1</sup> Cod. CDKL, ἐς (for the second ὡς); M, ὡς.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhet.* 1, 11 (p. 1371 b 16); *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 7); *Mag. Mor.* 2, 11 (p. 1208 b 10).

<sup>3</sup> Cod. E, ἀνὰ ῥίνα; K, ἀνὰ ῥρῖνα; S, ἀνὰ ῥρῖνα; P, ἀναρρίνας.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. GL, θυμὸς γὰρ; Cant., θυμὸς δὴ; ACES, διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος; DGHL, διοτρεφέων (or διοτροφέων) βασιλῶν. La Roche adopts the reading of Zenodotus instead of that of the best codices.

τῆς Ζηνοδότου. Schol. Townl.,—διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος] οὕτως αἱ πᾶσαι πλὴν τῆς Ζηνοδότου.

2. *Probl.* 23, 23 (p. 934 a 15) = *Il.* 7, 64:

Ar.<sup>1</sup> μελάνει δέ τε πόντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> ὀρνυμένοιο νέον, μελάνει δέ τε πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς,

Although only one manuscript of Homer gives αὐτοῦ, the reading shown by Aristotle, we find from this scholion of Ven. A that it was a well-attested variant: Ἀρίσταρχος πόντον διὰ τοῦ ν, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῇ, τῇ φρικί. ἄλλοι δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

3. *Hist. An.* 6, 28 (p. 578 b 1) = *Il.* 9, 539–540:

Ar.<sup>3</sup> θρέψεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον· οὐδὲ ἐΰκει  
θηρί γε σιτοφάγῳ ἀλλὰ ῥίψι ὑλήεντι.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> ὥρσεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα,  
ὃς κακὰ πόλλ' ἐρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλψήν·

Some scholars think that Aristotle has here confused this passage with *Odyssey* 9, 190–191 where we read:

καὶ γὰρ θαῦμα τέτυκτο<sup>5</sup> πελώριον, οὐδὲ ἐΰκει  
ἄνδρι γε σιτοφάγῳ, ἀλλὰ ῥίψι ὑλήεντι

I cannot suppose that Aristotle has accidentally confused these two Homeric passages. For, as Homer in the passage of the *Odyssey* is speaking about the famous and peculiar Polyphemos, it seems to me absurd to claim that Aristotle, who we know wrote much about Homer and his works, was ignorant of this fact, or even forgot that these verses applied to the Cyclops. To me, Aristotle's words have the ring of truth when he says: τῶν δ' ἀρρένων καὶ ἀγρίων οἱ τομῖαι μείζους γίνονται καὶ χαλεπώτεροι, ὥσπερ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν θρέψεν κτλ. Besides, the reading of Aristotle is confirmed somewhat by Eustathius, who says (772, 46): τὸ δὲ ὥρσε καὶ ἐξῆς εὐρηται παρὰ τῷ γεωγράφῳ, θρέψεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν· παρ' ᾧ καὶ στίχος εὐρηται οὗτος ἐπηγμένος· οὐδὲ ἐΰκει θηρί γε σιτοφάγῳ ἀλλὰ ῥίψι ὑλήεντι.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Ca Xa Ya, μελαινει.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. S, μελάνει; G Mor, μελαινει; many cod., πόντον; Lips., Harl., Townl., Ven. B, αὐτῇ; G, αὐτοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. P, θρέψιν; Da, ἀλλ' ἀγρίῳ (but corrected).

<sup>4</sup> Cod. C, χλοῦνιν.

<sup>5</sup> All cod. (except Ven. A), θαῦμ' ἐτέτυκτο.



καὶ σημειῶσαι καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ περὶ στίχων λειπόντων ἐκ τοῦ Ὀμήρου. Eustathius, a few lines below (772, 54), adds: καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ κατὰ τὸν γεωγράφον χλοῦνην σὺν τὸν τομίαν νοεῖ, δεχόμενος τὸ θρέψεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς γραφέντα στίχον πρὸς πίστῳσιν τοῦ ὅτι τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ ἀγρίων οἱ τομίαι μείζους γίνονται καὶ χιλεπώτεροι.

Eustathius, when he refers to γεωγράφος, as he often does, means Strabo.<sup>1</sup> So, if we may believe Eustathius, Strabo too, though the reference cannot be found anywhere in his extant works, I think, quoted these verses from Aristotle and believed them to be Homeric. Therefore I think that Aristotle had these verses in his text of Homer.

4. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 26) = *Il.* 10, 252 :

Ar.<sup>2</sup> παρῳχῆκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ·

Hom.<sup>3</sup> ἄστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρῳχῶκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ

Schol. Ven. A, — Ἀρίσταρχος παρῳίχῶκεν. Schol. Townl., — οὕτω, διὰ τοῦ ὦ κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ ἦ εἰς ὦ.

5. *De Part. An.*<sup>4</sup> 3, 10 (p. 673 a 16) = *Il.*<sup>5</sup> 10, 457 and *Od.*<sup>6</sup> 22, 329 :

Ar. φθεγγομένη δ' ἄρα τοῦγε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη,

Hom. φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη.

It is evident that there were two readings φθεγγομένη and φθεγγομένου, for there is a trace of both in the manuscripts both of Aristotle and of Homer; and, besides, Eustathius tells us (818, 4): γράφεται μὲν, φθεγγομένη.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one example will suffice to show this. Compare *Eustathii Commentarii* 419, 21 (Geographi Graeci Minores, Vol. II, ed. Mueller) with Strabo 8, 8, 9 (c. 372). In Eustathius we read: ὁ δὲ Γεωγράφος φησὶν ὅτι οἱ νεώτεροι καὶ μάλιστα Μακεδόνες καὶ Θετταλοὶ ἀργος τὸ πεδῖον φασί. Strabo's words are as follows: ἀργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δ' οὐδ' ἅπαξ· μάλιστα δ' οἰονται Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Θετταλικὸν εἶναι.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Ac, πλέω; Bc, πλέον.

<sup>3</sup> Many cod. have either παρῳίχκε or παρῳχῆκεν; many cod., πλέω.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. E, φθεγγομένου; PZ, φθεγγόμενον; EPSUY, τοῦδε.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. H, φθεγγομένη.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. D omits this verse; L, φθεγγομένου, κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη; GR, τοῦ δὲ; MQ, τοῦδε.

6. *Eth. Nic.* 7, 7 (p. 1149 b 17) = *Il.* 14, 217:

Ar.<sup>1</sup> πάρφασις, ἣ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντος.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> πάρφασις, ἣ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντων.

7. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 33) = *Il.* 20, 272):

Ar.<sup>3</sup> τῇ ῥ' ἔσχετο χάλκεον ἔγχος,

Hom.<sup>4</sup> τῇ ῥ' ἔσχετο μείλινον ἔγχος.

Schol. Ven. A, — ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι δ'. Schol. Townl., — (verses 269–272) οὗτοι καὶ προηθετοῦντο παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν σοφιστῶν, ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ ἐφέροντο.

8. *Rhet.* 3, 17 (p. 1418 a 8) = *Od.* 4, 204:

Ar. ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ τόσα εἶπες ὅς' ἂν πεπνυμένος ἀνὴρ,

Hom.<sup>5</sup> ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ τόσα εἶπας, ὅς' ἂν πεπνυμένος ἀνὴρ

9. *Mag. Mor.* 2, 11 (p. 1208 b 10) = *Od.* 17, 218:

Ar.<sup>6</sup> αἰεὶ τοι τὸν ὅμοιον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὅμοιον.

Hom.<sup>7</sup> ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

In two other passages<sup>8</sup> the manuscripts of Aristotle agree with the accepted Homeric reading ὥς αἰεὶ. Here, however, Aristotle disagrees with that reading, but agrees with the text of Plato.<sup>9</sup> So it looks as if there were two old readings, one of which is given by Plato, and by Aristotle in this passage, while the other reading is preserved in the existing Homeric manuscripts and in the other two passages of Aristotle.

10. *Poet.* 22 (p. 1458 b 29) = *Od.* 20, 259:

Ar.<sup>10</sup> δίφρον ἀεικέλιον καταθεὶς ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν.

Hom.<sup>11</sup> δίφρον ἀεικέλιον παραθεὶς ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Mb, φρονέοντων.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. L, φρονέοντ<sup>ω</sup>ς.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Bc, δ' (for ῥ').

<sup>4</sup> Some cod., χάλκεον.

<sup>5</sup> Most cod., εἶπες; BL (after erasure), τόσ' εἶπες; D, τόσσα εἶπες.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. Mb omits τοι.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. CDKL, ἐς (for the second ὥς); M, ἔς.

<sup>8</sup> *Rhet.* 1, 11 (p. 1371 b 16) and *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 7).

<sup>9</sup> *Lysis* 214 A.

<sup>10</sup> All cod., δίφρον τε, the τε evidently a mistake of scribes.

<sup>11</sup> A few cod., καταθεὶς.

## F. HOMERIC VERSES OMITTED IN ARISTOTLE.

Naturally, perhaps, I should consider next the passages in which Aristotle's readings receive no support elsewhere; but I prefer to pass over these for a time, and to take up those passages in which verses that are contained in our Homer are omitted in Aristotle.

1. *Pol.* 3, 14 (p. 1285 a 13) = *Il.* 2, 391-393:

Ar.<sup>1</sup> ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης, οὗ οἱ  
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.  
παρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω  
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὗ οἱ ἔπειτα  
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.

In this passage Aristotle omits the last part of one verse and almost the whole of the succeeding verse. His object in quoting the passage is to show the authority of a leader to inflict death upon his men, if need be, in time of battle. Consequently he gives those words only that emphasize that part, omitting even the main verb of the sentence. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*<sup>3</sup> we find verse 391 given in full, though, to be sure, it differs somewhat from our Homeric text. Of the expression παρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος I shall speak later.

2. *Rhet.* 3, 11 (p. 1413 a 28) = *Il.* 9, 385-390:

Ar.<sup>4</sup> εἰσὶ δὲ ὑπερβολαὶ μειρακιώδεις· σφοδρότητα γὰρ δηλοῦσιν.  
διὸ ὀργιζόμενοι λέγουσι μάλιστα·  
οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε.  
κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω, Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,  
οὐδ' εἰ χρυσείη Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλος ἐρίζοι,  
ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίῃ.

Hom.<sup>5</sup> οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε,  
οὐδέ κεν ὥς ἔτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει Ἀγαμέμνων,  
πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμαλγέα λώβην.  
κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,  
οὐδ' εἰ χρυσείη Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλος ἐρίζοι,  
ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίῃ γλανκώπιδι ἰσοφαρίζοι.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Ib, ἐσεῖται. <sup>2</sup> A few cod., δ' ἂν (for δέ κ'). <sup>3</sup> 3, 11 (p. 1116 a 34).

<sup>4</sup> Cod. QZ<sup>b</sup>Ac, δοίης; Z<sup>b</sup>, θσσα; Q, θσας; Q, κούρην; QY<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>b</sup>Ac, χρυσῇ; Q, Ἀθηναίης.  
<sup>5</sup> Cod. S, Cant., πείσῃ; E, χρυσῇ; Vrat. b omits verse 390.

It might possibly be claimed that in this passage verses quoted by Aristotle had been carelessly omitted by a scribe, but I think that such a suggestion is not necessary or even probable. Aristotle is here quoting examples of exaggeration of statement. As the force of the first example lies wholly in verse 385, especially in the words *δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε*, Aristotle very properly omits the conclusion, which, no matter what its character might be, could not lessen the exaggeration of the condition. In the second example the three verses are so intimately connected that it is not easy to separate them. Even here, however, we notice that the last part of verse 390, *γλαυκώπιδι ἰσοφαρίζοι*, has been omitted as unnecessary.

3. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 16) = *Il.* 10, 11-13:

Ar. τὸ δὲ κατὰ μεταφορὰν εἴρηται, οἷον . . . ἅμα δέ φησιν  
ἦτοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειεν,  
αὐλῶν συρίγγων θ' ὁμαδόν.

Hom.<sup>1</sup> ἦ τοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειε,  
θαύμαζεν πυρὰ πολλά, τὰ καίετο Ἰλιόθι πρό,  
αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπὴν ὁμαδόν τ' ἀνθρώπων.

Here again those verses only are given by Aristotle which are necessary to illustrate his point. Of the variant *θ' ὁμαδόν* I shall speak later.

G. VERSES NOT FOUND IN OUR HOMER.

There are many places in Aristotle where he shows a familiarity with verses of Homer that cannot now be found in Homeric manuscripts. Such are the following:

1. *Pol.* 3, 14 (p. 1285 a 13) = *Il.* 2, 391-393:

Ar.<sup>2</sup> ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης, οὗ οἱ  
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.  
πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.

Hom.<sup>3</sup> ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω  
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὗ οἱ ἔπειτα  
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.

In the *Iliad*, this last verse ends a speech of Agamemnon.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Cant., τὰ καίοντ'.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Ib, ἐσσεῖται.

<sup>3</sup> A few cod., δ' ἂν (for δέ κ').

I have already considered this passage of Aristotle. Now I wish to call attention to the words *παρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος*, which Aristotle seems to have had in his Homer, but which are not found in our Homeric manuscripts.

2. *Hist. An.* 6, 28 (p. 578 b 1) = *Il.* 9, 539-540:

Ar.<sup>1</sup> *θρέψεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον· οὐδὲ ἔψκει  
θηρί γε σιτοφάγῳ, ἀλλὰ ῥίψ ὑλήεντι.*

Hom.<sup>2</sup> *ὄρσεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα,  
ὅς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκειν ἔθων Οἰνήος ἀλῶν.*

Though I have already discussed this passage at some length,<sup>3</sup> this second verse in Aristotle ought to be listed here, as it is not found in our Homer.

3. *Rhet.* 2, 9 (p. 1387 a 32) = *Il.* 11, 542-543:

Ar.<sup>4</sup> *καὶ τὸν ἥττω τῷ κρείττονι ἀμφισβητεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοὺς  
ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ· ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,  
Αἴαντος δ' ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο·  
Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμέσασχ', ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιτο.*

Hom. *Αἴαντος δ' ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο.*

[*Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμεσᾷθ', ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιτο.*]

Verse 543 is omitted in all the Homeric manuscripts, but it is substantiated by Plutarch,<sup>5</sup> who quotes it thus:

*Ζεὺς γάρ τοι νεμεσᾷ, ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιο.*

The verse is given also in the Pseudo-Plutarch.<sup>6</sup>

4. *Eth. Eud.* 3, 1 (p. 1230 a 19) = *Il.* 22, 98-100:

Ar.<sup>7</sup> *Ἔκτορα δ' αἰδῶς εἶλε·*

*Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει.*

Hom.<sup>8</sup> 98 *ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·*

99 *ὦ μοι ἐγών, εἰ μὲν κε πύλας καὶ τείχεα δύω,*

100 *Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει,*

<sup>1</sup> Cod. P, *θρίψιν*; Da, *ἀλλ' ἀγρίω* (but corrected).

<sup>2</sup> Cod. C, *χλοῦνιν*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Ac, *νεμέσασκε*; QYbZb, *νεμέσησ'.*

<sup>5</sup> Cod. H, *τύχεα*; E, *πολυδάμας*; C omits *μοι*; E, *πρῶτος ἢ πρῶτον*.

<sup>6</sup> *Moral.* 36 A.

<sup>7</sup> *De Vit. et Poes. Hom.* 2, 132.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. Pb, *πολυδάμας*.

The words Ἑκτορα δ' αἰδῶς εἶλε, if they existed in Aristotle's Homer, must have come before verse 99, as they could not have formed a part of Hector's soliloquy.

5 (and 6). *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 b 26):

ιητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος  
σθένος ἔμβαλε θυμῷ καὶ μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔγειρε

Of the words σθένος ἔμβαλε θυμῷ it might be said, that Aristotle had quoted them carelessly, since we find somewhat similar expressions in our Homer, as: μένος δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε θυμῷ,<sup>1</sup> and σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω.<sup>2</sup> But, when we consider the expression μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔγειρε, we find nothing in our Homer resembling it nearer than these words: μένος μέγα, θέλγε δὲ θυμόν.<sup>3</sup> So I suspect that both of these quotations of Aristotle were made from verses in his Homer that are not found in ours.

Now, as is evident, I am treading on extremely doubtful ground. For there are some passages quoted by Aristotle as from Homer, that are entirely different from anything in our Homeric manuscripts. It might be suspected that Aristotle was quoting from other works, not now extant, that were sometimes attributed to Homer. But, so far as I know, with the exception of the Margites,<sup>4</sup> Aristotle mentions as Homeric only the Iliad and the Odyssey. Therefore, since we have abundant proof, as I have shown, that there were many verses of the Iliad and Odyssey that have not been preserved in our Homeric manuscripts, why may we not justly suppose that these quotations of Aristotle refer to verses of Homer that were found in some of the older manuscripts, but were either not known to the Alexandrine critics or else rejected by them, and hence were lost to our comparatively modern manuscripts?

7. *Pol.* 8, 3 (p. 1338 a 24):

διόπερ Ὅμηρος οὕτως ἐποίησεν  
ἀλλ' οἶον μὲν ἐστι καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλείην.

The insertion of a single short syllable in the second foot — for example, τε — would make the hexameter complete.

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* 16, 529.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* 11, 11, and *Il.* 14, 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 15, 594.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle refers to this, as a work of Homer, in *Poet.* 4 (p. 1448 b 30).

8. *De Anima*<sup>1</sup> 1, 2 (p. 404 a 29):

διὸ καλῶς ποιῆσαι τὸν Ὅμηρον  
ὥς ἔκτωρ κεῖτ' ἄλλοφρονέων.

Aristotle thus refers to this verse in the *Metaphysics*<sup>2</sup>: *φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ταύτην ἔχοντα φαίνεσθαι τὴν δόξαν, ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν Ἑκτορα, ὡς ἔξέστη ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς, κείσθαι ἄλλοφρονέοντα,*

So we can have no doubt, I think, that Aristotle's quotation represents part of an actual Homeric verse. The same expression, too, is found in Theocritus,<sup>3</sup> who says:

πᾶς δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν  
κεῖτ' ἄλλοφρονέων.

9. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 b 26):

ἱητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος . . .  
καὶ ἔξεσεν αἷμα.

The verb *ζέω* is used by Homer, so far as our text shows, only in the expressions *boiling water* and *a boiling kettle*. Theocritus,<sup>4</sup> however, has the same expression that is quoted here in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, namely *boiling blood*: *ἐμοὶ δ' ἄφαρ ἔξεσεν αἷμα*. As Theocritus knew his Homer well and copied him freely, perhaps this expression in his *Idyl* was borrowed directly from Homer. Why may he not have had an *Iliad* or *Odyssey* in which this expression was used? This old edition of Homer in the possession of Theocritus might have contained also the expression *κεῖτ' ἄλλοφρονέων*, which Theocritus uses and which is quoted in the *De Anima*.<sup>5</sup> It would seem as if in these two passages Theocritus supported Aristotle and his quotations.

10. *Frag.* 159 (p. 1504 b 44) in Schol. Townl. on *Il.* 24, 420:

ἀδύνατον νεκρῶν τραύματα μύειν, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης εἰρηκέναι  
Ὅμηρον  
μῦσεν δὲ περιβροτόεσσα ὠτειλή.

That this reading of Homer was lost in early times is shown by the words of the scholiast that follow: *τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχιον οὐδὲ φέρεται*.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. SW, ὡς ὁ ἔκτωρ.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* 20, 15.

<sup>2</sup> 3, 5 (p. 1009 b 28).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the previous passage discussed.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* 22, 129.

11 (and 12). *Rhet.* 3, 4 (p. 1406 b 20):

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν μεταφορά· διαφέρει γὰρ μικρόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ  
εἴπῃ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ὥς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν, εἰκὼν ἐστίν,  
ὅταν δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσε, μεταφορά·

The expression ὥς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν has already been discussed.<sup>1</sup> Whether that refers to a passage no longer found in our Homer or not, the words λέων ἐπόρουσε, if they represent a quotation at all correct, must have come from a text of Homer different from ours; for in our Homer we cannot find any passage to which they would properly refer.

#### H. NEW READINGS IN ARISTOTLE.

There remain for consideration the comparatively few passages in which Aristotle, while quoting verses contained in our Homer, gives readings unsupported by other testimony. It will not be necessary to treat each one of these passages fully, though a few suggestions may very properly be made.

1 (and 2). *Soph. Elench.* 4 (p. 166 b 6) and *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 22)  
= *Il.* 2, 15 and 2, 32:

Ar. (*Soph. Elench.*) καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅτι  
οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπεν  
δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι,  
ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ ἐνετέλλετο διδόναι.

Ar. (*Poet.*) δίδομεν δέ οἱ

Hom. Ἥρῃ λισσομένη, Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήπται.

Though the words δίδομεν δέ τοι εὖχος ἀρέσθαι are found in *Iliad* 21, 297, it is evident from the general sense of the passage in Aristotle, that he is referring to one of the earlier passages, and not to the later one.

3. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 a 34) = *Il.* 2, 391-393:

Ar.<sup>2</sup> ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης πτώσσοντα νοήσω,  
οὗ οἱ  
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φνυγείν κύνας.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Kb, ἄρκειον; Kb Mb, ἐσσεῖται.



Hom.<sup>1</sup> ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω  
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὗ οἱ ἔπειτα  
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.

In this passage it is stated carelessly that the verses were uttered by Hector, whereas they were really spoken by Agamemnon. That Aristotle was aware of that fact, is clear from a passage in the *Politics*,<sup>2</sup> where he correctly refers the words to Agamemnon.

The reading *πτύσσοντα* is metrically and grammatically correct.

4. *Probl.* 30, 1 (p. 953 a 23) = *Il.* 6, 200–202:

Ar.<sup>3</sup> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ κείνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,  
ἦτοι ὁ καππεδίον τὸ Ἀλῆιον οἶος ἀλᾶτο,  
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κείνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,  
ἦτοι ὁ καππεδίον τὸ Ἀλῆιον οἶος ἀλᾶτο,  
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων,

5. *De Mot. An.* 4 (p. 699 b 37) = *Il.* 8, 20–22:

Ar.<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίοιενδε  
Ζῆν' ὕπατον πάντων, οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε·  
πάντες δ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θείναι.

Hom.<sup>6</sup> πάντες δ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θείναι·  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίων δέ  
Ζῆν', ὕπατον μήστωρ, οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε.

La Roche<sup>7</sup> tells us that there has been no change in the order of verses of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* from the time of Pisistratus down, and that the manuscripts of Homer show this fact. Here, however, in Aristotle we find the order of verses changed. This change may be due either to Aristotle or to a scribe.

<sup>1</sup> A few cod., δ' ἂν (for δέ κ').

<sup>2</sup> 3, 14 (p. 1285 a 11).

<sup>3</sup> Cod. t, οὗτος (for κείνος); t, οἶον; t, κατέδεν.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. C (after an erasure) and many others have κἀκείνος.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. E, ἐρύσσει; P, ὕπατον μήστορα πάντων; EP, ἐξάπτεσθαι.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. C, πάντες τ'; S Mosc. 1, ἂν μ'; G, ἐρύσσει; HL Vrat. b, κάμψτε; Schol. Ven. A, γρ. καὶ πάθουτε.

<sup>7</sup> *Homerische Textkritik*, p. 7.

6. *De An. Gen.* 5, 5 (p. 785 a 15) = *Il.* 8, 83-84:

Ar.<sup>1</sup> ἵνα τε πρῶται τρίχες ἵππων  
κρανίῳ ἐμπεφύασι, μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> ἄκρην καὶ κορυφήν, ὅθι τε πρῶται τρίχες ἵππων  
κρανίῳ ἐμπεφύασι, μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν.

7. *Rhet.* 1, 7 (p. 1365 a 13) = *Il.* 9, 592-594:

Ar.<sup>3</sup> ὅσσα κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστν ἀλώη·  
λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,  
τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσιν.

Hom.<sup>4</sup> κήδε', ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστν ἀλώη·  
ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,  
τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναικας.

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηρόδοτος γράφει τέκνα δὲ δῆιοι ἄγουσι. Schol. Townl., — ἐνιοι γράφουσι τέκνα δὲ δῆιοι ἄγουσι.

The expression λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι is Homeric, and is found in *Iliad* 6, 327. It is not impossible that it may once have been used in *Iliad* 9, 593, just as Aristotle quotes it.

In the reading τ' ἄλλοι Aristotle agrees with the Homeric manuscripts, though the scholiasts, as we see, note a variant δῆιοι.

8. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 18) = *Il.* 10, 11-13:

Ar. ἦτοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειεν,  
αὐλῶν συρίγγων θ' ὁμαδόν.

Hom.<sup>5</sup> ἦ τοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειε,  
θαύμαζεν πυρὰ πολλά, τὰ καίετο Ἰλιόθι πρό,  
αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπήν ὁμαδόν τ' ἀνθρώπων.

Of the omission of verse 12 I have already spoken. I have now to treat of the word ὁμαδον. It seems to me probable that Aristotle had the expression in his Homeric text just as his manuscripts give it. In this passage Aristotle is speaking of metaphors. Now ὁμαδον with αὐλῶν and συρίγγων would give a much better example of a

<sup>1</sup> Cod. SY omit πρῶται; Z, ἐμπεφύκασι.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. H, κάκκοφυήν; C (first hand) omits τε.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. QY<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>b</sup>, ὅσα; QY<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>b</sup> omit πέλει.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. G, κήδεα ὅσ'.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. Cant., τὰ καίοντ'.

metaphor than would ἐνοπήν; for ὄμαδος generally refers to the din or uproar of men, whereas here by a transfer of meaning it would refer to the din or blare of trumpets.

9. *Frag.* 143 (p. 1502 b 4) = *Il.* 10, 332 :

φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι οὐδ' ὁ ποιητὴς λέγει ὡς ἐπιώρκησαν,  
καθάπερ ἐπ' ἄλλων  
ὥς φάτο καὶ ῥ' ἐπίορκον ὥμοσεν,

Hom.<sup>1</sup> ὥς φάτο καὶ ῥ' ἐπίορκον ἐπ' ὥμοσε, τὸν δ' ὀρόθουνεν.

Schol. Ven. A, — οὕτως καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἔ τὸ ἐπ' ὥμοσεν αἱ Ἀριστάρχων.

We must assume that Aristotle intended to end the real quotation with ἐπίορκον, or else that ἐπ (or ἀπ) has been lost through some mischance, for the use of the simple verb ὥμοσεν renders the line unmetrical.

10. *Poet.*<sup>2</sup> 22 (p. 1458 b 31) = *Il.* 17, 265 :

ἡῖνες βοόωσιν

This expression of Aristotle is thus edited by Bekker. All the manuscripts, however, read ἴωνες βοῶσιν. The error of the manuscripts is probably due to a scribe, who would naturally suppose the subject of this verb to be persons rather than things.

11. *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 26) = *Il.* 18, 107 :

Ar. ὥς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο.

Hom. ὥς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο,

12. *Probl.* 26, 31 (p. 943 b 22) = *Od.* 4, 567 :

Ar.<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο διαπνέουσιν ἀήται

Hom.<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντος ἀήται

For the reading of the Homeric manuscripts we have the testimony of many writers. The verse as quoted by Aristotle, however, would readily unite with the preceding verse of Homer, οὐ νικητός, οὐτ' ἄρ χειμῶν πολὺς οὐτέ ποτ' ὄμβρος, if the succeeding verse were omitted, Ὀκεανὸς ἀνίστην ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. H, ἐπεὶ ὄρκον; a few cod., ἀπ' ὥμοσε; D, ἀπ' ὥμοσεν; H, ἀπ' ὥμοσε; C (recent hand), γρ. ἐπ. <sup>2</sup> All cod., ἴωνες βοῶσιν.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Yas, αἰεὶ; s, διαπνέουσιν; Ca, ἀντμαί.

<sup>4</sup> Most cod. have πνείοντας; M, πνείοντῶς; H, πνείοντᾶς; Schol. HP, τὸ πνείοντος διὰ τοῦ ὁ πρὸς τὸ ζεφύροιο.

13. *De Mundo*, 6 (p. 400 a 11) = *Od.* 6, 42-45 :

Ar.<sup>1</sup> Οὐλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ  
ἔμμεναι. οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ  
δεύεται, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιτίλναιται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἶθρη  
πέπταται ἀννέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἀναδέδρομεν αἶγλη.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> Οὐλυμπον δ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ  
ἔμμεναι· οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ  
δεύεται οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιτίλναιται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἶθρη  
πέπταται ἀννέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἶγλη.

Of Aristotle's form ἀννέφελος nothing need be said, for that is found in many Homeric manuscripts also. ἀναδέδρομεν is not supported elsewhere.

14. *Poet.* 22 (p. 1458 b 25) = *Od.* 9, 515 :

Arist.<sup>3</sup> νῦν δέ μ' ἔων ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὔτιδανός καὶ ἄκικνυς,

Hom.<sup>4</sup> νῦν δέ μ' ἔων ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὔτιδανός καὶ ἄκικνυς

Eustathius (1643, 7) says: γράφεται δ' ἔν τισι καὶ ἀεικής. Since the three manuscripts of Aristotle have ἀειδής or ἀηδής, it seems to me probable that Aristotle had in his Homer and wrote ἀεικής, which is read in a scholion of Homer and also in Eustathius. This could easily have been corrupted, in the text of Aristotle, into ἀειδής and then ἀηδής.

15. *Rhet.* 3, II (p. 1411 b 33) = *Od.* 11, 598 :

Ar.<sup>5</sup> αὐτίς ἐπὶ δάπεδόνδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής,

Hom.<sup>6</sup> αὐτίς ἔπειτα πέδον δὲ κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.

The difference in reading is really very slight, and the unmetrical ἐπὶ in Aristotle is probably due to scribes.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. P, οὐλυμπόν θ'; O, οὐλυμπον; Q, ὅτι; P, ὅσοι; Q, ὕδατος (for ἔδος); O, οὐδὲ (verse 43); O, οὐτ' αὖ χιόνες; P, ἀνέφελα; Q, ἀνέφελος; O, ἀλκή (for λευκή).

<sup>2</sup> Cod. AK, οὐδέ ποτ'; B, οὐδέ τ' (verse 43); LPS, οὐδὲ (verse 44); most cod., ἀννέφελος; Eustath. 1551, 5, ἀνέφελος and ἀννέφελος; D, ἐπιδέδρομεν; Schol. H.P., Ῥιανὸς αἰθήρ.

<sup>3</sup> This verse is so edited by Bekker, although one cod. (Na) has ἀηδής, and the other two (AcBc) have ἀειδής.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. S, ἀναλκίς; M, γρ. ἀεικής.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. QYbZb, δ' ἐπὶ; Q, δάπεδόν τε.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. EQ, αὐθις.

16. *Rhet.* I, 11 (p. 1370 b 5) = *Od.* 15, 400-401:

Ar.<sup>1</sup> μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ  
μνήμενος, ὅστις πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πολλὰ ἐόργη.

Hom.<sup>2</sup> μνωμένω· μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ,  
ὅς τις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῆ.

The word ἐόργη given by Aristotle seems to me to harmonize better with πάθη and with the general sense of the passage than the traditional ἐπαληθῆ.

17. *Pol.* 8, 3 (p. 1338 a 26) = *Od.* 17, 385:

Ar. οἱ καλέουσιν αἰοιδόν φησιν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἅπαντας.

Hom.<sup>3</sup> ἡ καὶ θέσπιν αἰοιδόν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἀεΐδων;

18. *Probl.* 30, 1 (p. 953 b 12) = *Od.* 19, 122:

Ar.<sup>4</sup> καὶ μέ φησι δάκρυ πλώειν βεβαρημένον οἶνψ.

Hom.<sup>5</sup> φῆ δὲ δακρυπλώειν βεβαρηότα με φρένας οἶνψ.

The first part of the verse as given by Aristotle is unmetrical. Were it not for the fact that the last part is metrical, we should think that Aristotle was merely referring to the passage and not attempting to quote it. As it is, it looks as if he might have had a different text.

#### CONCLUSION WITH REGARD TO ARISTOTLE'S QUOTATIONS.

In general, now, what can be said of the trustworthiness of Aristotle's quotations? Did he, by relying on memory, commit so many offenses that his variants are entitled to no consideration? About him, as about Plato, I think we may say that there are occasional passages where the presumption seems very strong that he has quoted from memory and quoted wrongly. We cannot, however, dismiss all, or even many, of his variants in that abrupt way. Whether he quoted from memory or not, for the following reasons I feel that his readings are entitled to a careful consideration, and

<sup>1</sup> Cod. A<sup>c</sup>, μνησάμενος ὅτε; Q, πάθοι; QZ<sup>b</sup>, ἔοργε; Y<sup>b</sup>, ἐόργει.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. D, μνωμένω; M, γρ. μεμνομένω.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. R (and Eustath. 1824, 59), ὅς ἀν.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. X<sup>a</sup>, πλύνειν βεβαρυμένον.

<sup>5</sup> A (first hand) omits this verse.

that, where they differ from the traditional text of Homer, in most instances they probably give us variants of high antiquity.

1. Let me repeat again that we feel more strongly since the discovery of the Flinders Petrie fragment, that the modern manuscripts of Homer differ greatly from the earlier traditions.

2. Though I cannot go into the question as to whether Aristotle himself prepared a Homeric text for Alexander the Great, — for there seems to be conflicting testimony on this point, — it is clear from the titles of two of the works of Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> and from references to him in the scholia of Homer, where his readings or explanations are occasionally mentioned, that he paid a good deal of attention to the study of Homer, and hence must have been well acquainted with his poems.

3. Many of the quotations in Aristotle agree with our traditional Homeric readings. Many that disagree receive support either from Homeric manuscripts or from scholia or from ancient authors.

4. Many of the differences are undoubtedly due either to mistakes of scribes, or to the fact that Aristotle occasionally refers to verses without intending to give the exact words.

There then remains a comparatively small number of unsubstantiated variants, to be attributed to a difference of text. Should we not expect that Aristotle, who lived so long before the Alexandrine critics, would exhibit as many real variants as his manuscripts show?

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<sup>1</sup> Προβλήματα Ὀμηρικά (cf. *Biographi Minores*, ed. Westerman, p. 404, 77), and Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά (cf. *Diogenes Laertius*, 5, 1, 26).